SATYAM EVA JAYATE

SATYAM EVA JAYATE

A COLLECTION OF ARTICLES CONTRIBUTED TO SWARAJYA AND OTHER JOURNALS FROM 1956 TO 1961

(With Index for Vols. I and II)

By

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

VOLUME II

BHARATHAN PUBLICATIONS

KALKI BUILDINGS — KILPAUK, MADRAS-10

FIRST PUBLISHED : VOL. I ON AUGUST 15, 1961
VOL. II ON NOVEMBER 30, 1961

PRICE : RUPEES SIX EACH VOLUME

Printed by R. Ananthanarayanan
for Bharathan Publications Private Ltd.
at the Kalki Press, Kilpauk, Madras-10

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The Publishers are grateful to the public for the encouraging reception given to the first volume of SATYAM EVA JAYATE and are glad to present the second volume which completes the collection of Rajaji's articles on various topics during the period July 1956 to October 1961. Every issue that is likely to be put before the public by the political parties contesting the coming general elections is dealt with by the author in these pages. The Publishers hope that this second volume will be welcomed as warmly as the first.

The Publishers express their grateful appreciation of the work of Sri M. P. Sarangapani and Sri S. A. Govindarajan. Without their devoted labour this book could not possibly have been completed so well and released so promptly as it has been done.

CONTENTS

COLD WAR

Khrushchov Holds Initiative Again, 622; Controlled Disarmament, 653; Hurdles in the Way of World Peace, 675; Disarmament Talks, 681; Thoughts on World Peace, 713; Effect of Nuclear Power, 829; Movement Against Nuclear Weapons, 951; Belated Offer, 1005; The New American Policy of Threats, 1020; Wisdom Through Error, 1032; The Giant-Explosion, 1037.

COMMUNAL PROBLEM

State Assistance for the Backward, 643; Communal Charities, 657; Revolt Against Coddling, 740; Outlawing Communal Parties, 802; Banning Communal Parties, 833; Communal Parties, 887; Disease of Communalism, 929; Love of One's Community, 971.

CONGRESS PARTY

Passivity Will Not Do, 561; The Strait-jacket, 583; The Substance of Freedom, 584; Mr. Dhebar's Defence, 599; Wanted a Commission of Enquiry, 632; Western Precedents, 639; The Abdication of Intellect, 655; Feuds Within the Congress, 661; Congressmen and Communists, 662; The Mis-ruling Party, 663; Rivalries in Congress Party, 737; President Kennedy's Warning, 748; Why Congress Should be Defeated, 753; Debit Side of Congress Rule, 756; The Killing Frost of Statism, 762; The Congress Jubilee, 767; Witch-hunt, 770; Moral Bankruptcy of Congress, 774; Congress Statism or Gandhian Way? 779; The Grinding

of the Individual, 790; Substitution of State for Individual, 792; Fifty Crores, 800; Wanted Re-shuffling of Ideas, 807; Socialism and the Constitution, 811; Misuse of Power, 813; The Craze for Power, 842; Surrendering to the Inevitable, 846; Congress and the Elections, 862; Congress Party's Mishandlings, 866; Intoxication of Power, 873; A Purificatory Ritual, 879; Lessons in the Hard Way, 883; Orissa Elections, 888; A Crisis in Democracy, 890; Amn't I Prosperous? 898; P.M's Appeal to the Services, 912; Mr. Patnaik's Strange Defence, 916; Real Decentralization, 918; Common Man Pays it in Blood, 945; State Trading in Cement, 953; Unwillingness to See Facts, 982; Taxing Charities, 985; Imitating the Big Powers, 992; Who Ultimately Pays? 997; Lost Moral Power, 998; Integration Programmes, 1001; Misuse of Official Status, 1006; The Congress Manifesto, 1007; More Sufferings in Store, 1023; National Integration, 1025; Why I am Angry, 1033.

DEMOCRACY AND OPPOSITION

Wanted Real Two-Party System, 716; Election Costs, 787; A Plea for United Front, 894; Party-less Democracy, 909; Minister's Advice to D.M.K., 921; Parliamentary Democracy in India, 954; Future of Democracy in Asia, 978.

ECONOMIC AND FISCAL MATTERS

Holding the Price Line, 593; Only Way to Full Employment, 615; Deficit Financing, 625; Restriction on Credit, 637; The Anti-profit Slogan, 650; The Economic Potentiality of Freedom, 670; For the Love of India, 684; Drive Towards Equality, 697; Parkinson's Second Law, 698; The German Verdict, 718; Inflation: Causes and Meaning, 728; Pakistan Shows the Way, 760; Competition in Industry, 773; Bad Days Ahead, 785; Free Economy or

Regimentation ? 808 ; The Etiology of Controls, 831 ; Wise and Apposite Warning, 844 ; The Finance Minister is Comforted, 851 ; Disparity in Sugar Prices, 915 ; Eminent Economists' Advice, 947 ; Sugar Export to Foreign Countries, 967 ; At What Cost ? 990 ; Speaking in Two Voices, 1004.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Pakistan and India, 596 ; The Ayub-Nehru Meet, 634 ; Transfer of Berubari, 691 ; Our Foreign Policy, 704 ; Nehru's World Policy, 797 ; Incredible Simplicity, 804 ; American Photographs, 836 ; Co-existence with Neighbours, 864.

LAND LEGISLATION

Unabashed Expropriation, 592 ; Rural Wage-Earners' Plight, 733 ; Stupendous Folly, 743 ; A Lesson for Collectivists, 848 ; Co-operative Bubble Bursts, 858 ; Food Minister Speaks Out, 905 ; The Link with Peasants, 923.

LANGUAGE ISSUE

Home Minister on Official Language, 570 ; President's Order on Official Language, 581 ; P.M's Assurance to Non-Hindi People, 588 ; Bilingualism, 601 ; The Lesson of Assam, 878 ; A Charter for Anti-Synthesis, 896 ; Majority and Minority, 910 ; The Common Script Plan, 972 ; Kicking off the Ladder, 977.

PARTY FUNDS

Donations to Congress Party Chest, 580 ; Company Donations to Party Funds, 594 ; Cannot be Voluntary Donations, 608 ; Enriching Party Chest, 689 ; Ill-gotten Money, 765 ;

Election Funds for Congress, 902; Nehru Objects to Donations, 1011; Prime Minister's Embarrassment, 1027.

PLANNING

The Plan and Realities, 562; Errors in Plan Calculations, 574; Five Year Plans, 602; Plan Burdens on the Poor, 679; Our Foreign Loans, 708; No Answer to My Question, 741; This Prison-House, 750; Planned Unhappiness, 794; Our Foreign Liabilities, 820; Prof. Galbraith's Wise Counsel, 950; Whose the Sweat and Tears? 960; Borrowings from Abroad, 988.

PUNJAB

Repression in the Punjab, 572; Punjabi Suba Claim, 668; Fast Unto Death, 730; The Punjabi Issue, 904; Punjab Ban on Suba News, 965; Tara Singh's Fast, 975; Appeal to Akali Dal, 1015.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Tiruvalluvar, 575; A Votary of Truth, 640; The Parable of the Road, 710; Materialist Philosophy, 726; Science, Philosophy and Religion, 934.

SWATANTRA

Adhere to Gandhiji's Principles, 567; Independence Day Reflections, 577; Negative and Positive, 611; Centralism, 739; Swatantra Party Election Symbol, 746; The Swatantra Philosophy, 782; Negative, 784; Who is Reactionary? 789; Freedom within Parties, 816; Morarji's Jibes, 835; A Warning, 837; First Fruits, 838; Property and Freedom,

850; Surrendering to Communism, 855; At Battle with Wrong, 927; No Recognition to Swatantra, 976; Symbol Recognized, 1014; Swatantra Party's Chances, 1017; We Must Re-make Freedom, 1028; Out-dated Doctrine, 1035; Basic Principles of Swatantra Party, 1040.

MISCELLANEOUS

Government Employees on Strike, 565; The Assam Outrages, 573; A Fair Deal for Slum-dwellers, 605; Basis of Reorganization of States, 613; New Privilege Claim by Legislature, 619; Sir M. Visveswarayya, 621; Tribal Conflicts? 635; Means Can Kill Ends, 646; Teaching of Religion in Schools, 648; New Member-States of U.N., 666; Sarvodaya, 673; Soviet-Sino Relations, 678; Experimentation on Animals, 686; Navaratna Rama Rao, 702; The Nepal Breakdown, 709; Dhoties and Sarees, 731; Alongside the Rani of Jhansi, 755; A Council of Trades and Agriculture, 769; Don't Intrude in Co-operation, 777; The Queen's Visit, 778; Non-intervention in Domestic Affairs, 822; The Ceylon Struggle, 824; Sampath's Secession, 826; The Russian Rocket, 828; Fishermen's Woes, 852; Disregarding Sex Distinctions, 860; Congo's Travail, 870; Relief for Sterility, 875; Bereaved, 882; Sixth Year, 897; Government-sponsored Quackery, 900; Nuclear Power for Every State, 917; Advertisements on Smoking, 925; Why I Believe in Classics, 932; Threat to Handlooms, 952; Major Titov's Feat, 968; Status of Indians Overseas, 969; Judicial System in U.S.S.R., 970; A Rare Spirit, 987; Berlin Crisis, 991; Sir Thomas Munro, 993; The Fly in the Phial, 1012; Privileges of Legislators, 1016; Khrushchov, 1031; A Satanic Laboratory, 1039.

INDEX 1051

PASSIVITY WILL NOT DO

THOSE who are interested in the future of our liberties and who feel that the various curbs and restrictions imposed by the present Government are unwise and should in the interest of progress be done away with, who feel that we need a polity of liberty, as opposed to a State-regulated economy based on a bias against private enterprise and private management, and on faith in the public management of all trade, production and movement, must realize the simple truth that we cannot get rid of government control by supporting that same government, but only by opposing it. We cannot hope to defeat an enemy by helping him. This is elementary and obvious, but in a State-controlled economy those who suffer most do not see it. If we must fight a monster we should not wait till he gets stronger or till he graciously permits it. We must strike at him at once, when he is still young and is eating to grow stronger.

I say all this not to indulge in a parable for the pleasure of it, but because I see so many who ought to know better, trying to hide their opposition to the Statism that has come upon us like a great plague, and who believe that they may help the movement of emancipation from government control by lying low now and doing all they can for the government, and hope to fight later when they may be freer to join the battle. Later, you will be less free than you are now, and much less able to put up a fight. When we ask a freedom-loving citizen to come and join the forces against the present aggressive Government it is foolish for him to look at the entanglements he is caught in and to plead, "Wait, I shall finish supplying this Government with the munitions it wants, and then I shall join you when I shall not be the target of the Government's anger." Let everyone realize that we cannot fight without fighting. We help our greater enslavement by not fight-

ing. The strength of a regime based on public opinion is the passivity of the victims. Once the passivity is replaced by manly protest, the regime topples down.

July 9, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE PLAN AND REALITIES

THE Third Plan has been published as settled by the Planning Commission. It will be subjected to the scrutiny and criticism of qualified persons and institutions, and its weak points may in due course come to light. But what may at once be pointed out is that the essential obverse of the Plan should be kept in mind, viz., the resources expected to meet the scheduled investment and expenditure. This takes naturally a small part of the printed space of the hand-out but its importance to the tax-payer and the general public cannot be minimized by the technique of propaganda-compression.

Huge amounts are put down for foreign borrowings so as to make ends meet. The taxation and borrowing policy for the next five years gets fixed on the basis of this Plan and what hangs over from the previous Plans. The effective power of Parliament and people will, during this period of five years, be physically curtailed to the extent of the Plan commitments, whatever be the debates over the annual budgets. So also will the industrial and commercial policies of the Indian Union be what is consequential to this Plan. They will admit of little variation during the next five years, whatever be the view of Parliament or the people. The argument of commitment and the inevitable corollary of expenditure already incurred will be insurmountable. These considerations apply to all five year plans but the size of this Plan makes the objections stronger.

The uncertain element of defence and foreign policy, and the practically uncontrolled expenditures involved in them, will not allow itself to be trained into shape or be forecast by any planning commission or cabinet. It is not only an uncertain element in itself but it affects all other calculations, and makes these much less certain than they appear. The very large slice of the Plan which is dependent on foreign aid and supply, be it of the Commonwealth or outside that circle, is most vulnerable on account of the changing and unpredictable condition in world affairs. This is a material aggravation of uncertainty over and above what is contributed to it by the unanticipated additions to our own defence expenditure.

Again, what the planners know very well, but which yet is not allowed to show itself very prominently, is the unavoidable element of error of calculation arising out of rising prices, or inflation, whichever name we choose to give to the economic results of the very expenditure that is planned. This element is usually given the name of a vicious circle and left at that, with some vague promises of checking it by special devices, which again in other ways go to add to the trials of the public. Rupees one thousand six hundred and fifty crores of additional taxation and 550 crores of deficit financing will not sit passive but will give fresh wings to the up-flying prices.

Direct and indirect taxes, and rising prices, are not mere arithmetic. They are hard realities that make and mar human happiness and outlook on life. It may be pleasing to read the figures of the various items of promised expenditure but the obverse of the Plan, viz., the open and concealed taxation, corresponding to the expenditure, is as real as the investment proposed. Borrowing has become so continuous and the accumulated interest charges so heavy that borrowing is as good or, rather, as bad as taxation. The other side of 'Planning for prosperity', unlike that of the moon, cannot be kept concealed. Even the moon's other side has begun to be exposed to view ! The hard facts of heavy taxation are obvious parts of the Plan. And

they affect not merely the feelings of men, but even the arithmetic of expected private investments.

It may be noticed that in this Plan there is a marked degree of expressed attention to agriculture and to small and medium industries. Whatever may be the credit for this, it is a good thing. But planned expenditure alone does not ensure the progress of agriculture in this country. Incentive is the main element and what is being done to bring into being the 'socialist pattern' has, unfortunately, concentrated on agriculture to its detriment. It is easy to develop political party strength on expenditure over agriculture and small industries. But the full utilization of money spent in the name of agriculture and small industries for its legitimate end is a very different matter. There is considerable politics in the machinery of expenditure on agriculture and small industries.

For small and medium scale industries, the thing required is private enterprise and to achieve success in this direction, what has to be realized and which has not yet been adequately recognized, is that the industrial policy of the Government should be such as to release the initiative and enthusiasm of the middle and higher classes. Everything so far done curbs and restrains, and feeds partisanship and corruption. It is wholly wrong to assume that the profit motive is evil. On the contrary, the profit motive is the positive factor for enterprise and activity and it is entirely consistent with the common weal. The policy and propaganda, and the prejudices of those now in authority in the States and in Delhi, are vitiated by a sadistic desire to suppress and hurt the layers of society on whose energy and zeal depends progress in the sectors of agriculture and small scale industry. On the other hand, in that field the interference of the ruling party opens out a large field for political graft and petty monopolies created for favoured individuals at the cost of all the others.

After the steady and rapid rise of individualism, and the breakdown of the old caste order which governed all production

and service, and professional ethics in the old days, there is available now but little concern among people for the common weal, for anything but what concerns oneself. Of course, what concerns one's own benefit incidentally produces something for the community also. Until a spiritual movement is successfully initiated and fostered, so as to restore the ethics of production and service in the common interest, we have to depend on the profit motive for producing what is good for the common weal. The dogmatism of the ruling party blinds it to this important over-all truth. It believes that we can do away with the profit motive by entrusting production to State management. It does not see that this is an arrangement wherein we pay heavily for official management which is inefficient ad supine at its best.

"By the end of the Third Plan every individual will get 15 oz. of cereals and 3 oz. of pulses every day, and 17.5 yards of cotton textiles per year," says the government hand-out. Yes, provided the individual is able to *pay* for them at the then prevailing price of cereals, pulses and textiles; and also *only* if all the expectations of intelligence, diligence, thrift and honesty are fulfilled by the administration.

July 16, 1960 *Swarajya*

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES ON STRIKE

No man can be compelled to work on terms and conditions which he deems to be unjust. Every person is entitled to withdraw his services if he does not find the conditions satisfactory and just. But the question arises, whether collective bargaining should be taken to include the final trial of a strike in the case of national services forming part of the machinery of government. To withdraw from the service is the privilege of every employee but to hold on to it, and yet not to work, which is the meaning of a

strike, in order to settle the terms of service by a trial of strength, is a different matter. Whatever may have come to stay in the industrial field, it seems erroneous to allow this practice of strikes in the case of government departments. The disputatnts must have the right to dispute and negotiate without fear of victimization, but beyond reference to a tribunal and submitting to its award, it appears wrong in principle to set up the practice of strikes and lock-outs in the administrative or defence establishments of the government, equating the latter with an industrial establishment.

We should at least see to it that political parties do not seek to exploit the situation when a strike is afoot. It is wrong for any political party to seek to use the occasion for developing its own strength, and for that purpose take sides in the dispute between employees and government. It is for the party holding the responsibility of government to deal with the disputes regarding conditions of service in the administrative machinery. It is not either the responsibility or the privilege of parties sitting in Opposition to take sides in those disputes. Permanent civil servants of all grades should be kept away from partisan politics, for they should serve government irrespective of which party holds office. When there happens to be a kind of alignment and support during a period of trouble, a bond is established which is not easy to get over or forget. It is, therefore, very wrong for political parties to take sides when government employees are engaged in a struggle with the Government. The temptation is great but it must be resisted.

No nation ever solved, or attempted to solve, the problem of unemployment among its educated classes by absorbing them all in its administrative services. The root of the mischief in our country is in the education imparted which unfits the recipients, psychologically as well as otherwise, for anything but such service. The remedies lie in expanding technical education and in a policy which will encourage and not curb, by harassing regulations, the rapid expansion of trade and industry. It is this alone

that can and ought to absorb the unemployed. Reckless expansion of the administrative services based on an inadequate wage scale has led to the dilemma of either not relieving distress among the employed or heartless retrenchment. The sooner a policy of industrial expansion, based on the release of private enterprise from the entanglement of official sanctions, permits, licences and forms and regulations, the easier it will be to solve the problem of unemployment. The temptation to exploit industry and trade for political advantage leads to deadly sin.

Alongside of releasing industry and trade from cramping regulations and political motives, attention should be paid to educational reform such as would reduce the pressure on the limited capacity of the State to absorb the educated classes in its administrative services. The superstition that all education is to end in a white-collar appointment under government must be done away with.

The aftermath of this strike will involve much individual distress. Government must take into account the large element of intimidation that plays an effective part in compelling frightened men to conform to the decisions of union leaders. They should temper their action with a large dose of consideration and clemency for those who could not stand up to the intimidation of fellow-workers.

July 23, 1960 *Swarajya*

ADHERE TO GANDHIJI'S PRINCIPLES*

WHEN we made the Constitution for the governance of India, we expected good government to issue out of it. Our expectations have not been fulfilled. The ruling party has failed in this most important of its duties. The reason is not that persons who man-

---

* This was Rajaji's written message to his partymen on the first anniversary day of the Swatantra Party.

ned the adminstration were not honest or patriotic, but the party in power was firm in its resolve to use every advantage available to enhance its partisan strength, in order to remain in power, and allowed its members throughout the country at various levels to interfere in the administration. The officials became easy prey to this process, and deterioration set in. The party itself rapidly lost its good name and character, and the mischief naturally advanced with increased pace. There was no party in Opposition which exerted moral pressure to stop this process. I raised my voice against this eight years ago and have kept the battle up ever since, and the protest has been embodied in the principles of our party. It is not usual to include such an item in the political programme of any party, but that is because every party accepts it in principle. But in our country the disregard of it by the ruling party is so great, and causes so much injustice and popular discontent, that we have done well in incorporating it in clause 19 of our party's fundamental principles.

Apart from all questions of difference of principles and policies, it was admitted by everyone, including the Congress Party, that for the proper working of the parliamentary system of government for the good of the people, a real and strong Opposition party is an indisputable requirement. Our party aims at supplying this felt want That we have met with stiff opposition in the work of building up our party is itself a demonstration of our growing strength. The general and widespread welcome given to our entry in the field is the strong democratic foundation for our movement, and while it is this that has given the Congress Party cause for fear, it is also our strongest reason for confidence. We should be true to the democratic faith and work with confidence, not losing heart when the ruling party exploits its present position to make our work difficult. Indeed, on that very account, it becomes our sacred duty to serve the nation in its large interests by our determined effort.

The ruling party has committed itself to a policy of regimentation. Regulation, including all the forms of control, evolved for

the purpose was conceived probably in good intention, viz., to protect the weaker elements of our society. But it has ended, as it must, in the cramping of national energy all round and in the suppression of initiative and enterprise. It has led to the creation of several big monopolies for favoured individuals and the utilization of public money to help such monopolies. These monopolies or near-monopolies have resulted in unholy alliances between the ruling party at various levels and those who benefit by them, in order to supply election funds for the party to keep its power going. This, in turn, has led to various forms of corruption into which I need not go now. We should cast out this regimentation policy and restore the freedoms for which our party stands. We aim at giving a new direction to the policies that should guide the State for the progress and welfare of our people. We have to build on the present with all its evils, and consequently, although we may not be able at once to sweep away all the evils that have come to stay, we can still give a new direction to things by adhering to the principle enunciated by Gandhiji, viz., the maximum of freedom for the people that is possible in the present circumstances and a minimum of necessary government restrictions.

As a result of the birth of our party and our work these twelve months, I am glad to be able to say that we have broken the great and malignant spell that demobilized the spirit and intelligence of the people of all classes, as a result of the unbroken rule of the Congress Party. We have released the spirit of criticism. We have hit and wounded, though we have not yet slain, the fear that held the people in its grasp. We have to work harder so that we may achieve success. We must get people to realize that government in a parliamentary democracy can be changed by the people if they feel dissatisfied, and that it is not a dynasty. We must get the people to shed the fear of immediate consequences and the dread of what may happen if they fail. This democratic education our people have not yet had, and we have undertaken that task. We have to make men realize that all battles are won only by courage and determina-

tion, and not by assisting the enemy whom we fight out of fear of what may happen if we do not succeed. May God bless you and help you to put your maximum effort. It is He that does everything, using us as His instruments. If we honestly work for the restoration of *dharma* as His humble instruments, He will surely bless us. This is my message of hope to you on this anniversary of the birth of our party.

July 30, 1960 *Swarajya*

HOME MINISTER ON OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

We read that the Home Minister of India solemnly expressed the view that the country should not waste its energies on petty issues like language. I hope this recent statement is, as it should be, hundred per cent sincere advice. The way to prevent 'petty' issues occupying the minds of people is not to disturb the *status quo* but abstain from introducing irritating changes in such matters. Let the official language of all India be, as it has been these hundred and fifty years, the great world medium, the English language. Let Hindi be not imposed directly or indirectly on the people of India as the Central or inter-State medium. To impose something new, as if it were a great reform and a blessing, and then when people object to the imposition, to call it a 'petty issue' is not just or proper. I am aware the Home Minister was thinking only of the Punjab language issue when he said this. But he made his statement in the form of a great and all-embracing truth which I want to be applied also against the imposition of Hindi on all India.

The Prime Minister rightly and consistently spoke in Assam. He had said in clear terms in Parliament that Hindi as the Central and inter-State official language will not be imposed until the non-Hindi people agreed to such a procedure. This was always what I thought he felt, and this was how he

always approached this question of language. But the President's order on the language issue (which is the Government of India's order issued in the name of the President) did not unambiguously include and adopt this important formula of the Prime Minister, which had brought so much satisfaction when it was uttered in Parliament. Indirect imposition is more irritating than even direct coercion. Yet in ever so many ways the indirect imposition of Hindi is indulged in. It is a 'petty issue' and I do not want it to be the creed of any party whatsoever. But to disturb the *status quo* and then classify opposition to it among petty issues is not fair. I trust the Home Minister will agree and will do his best to put in the shelf the idea of changing the Central official language and all non-Hindi people will be grateful to him.

I have been expressing my views very clearly as well as strongly on this point for the last few years, and any attempt on the part of interested people to twist things and try to hold it up as an attempt on my part to please a secessionist party is disingenuous. My views on this question have been sought to be utilised to scare or divide Swatantra Party members. The attempt will not succeed, as I have made the point perfectly clear from the very first day that the party was initiated, and continuously ever since, that I hold this opinion on the language issue very firmly, but it is *my* opinion and not that of the Swatantra Party. I want this official language question to be solved not on a party basis at all. It should be a free question for all parties; and opinion should not, on this or other such issues, be forced on the members of any party, by dint of discipline.

The utility, the fairness and the value of keeping the English language going stand on a foundation of rock. Let those who plead for a change try to stop the English language newspapers and journals conducted in India for a month, and then they will see by what scientists call the method of difference, what English means for unity and progress and peace in India.

July 30, 1960 *Swarajya*

REPRESSION IN THE PUNJAB

An I.N.F.A. report says that the Nehru Government and the Kairon Cabinet are agreed that "those who offer themselves for arrest should know that their punishment will hereafter be imprisonment for years and not months". Here is a sample of non-interference with the judiciary! After the highest authorities of the executive arm in India and that of the Punjab have expressed themselves thus, what chance is there for the magistrates to weigh and mete out what they think would be just punishment in a case, taking all things into account? Nothing more is wanted to prove that the highest limbs of the executive seek to influence the decisions of courts and use them for executive ends. It is the exclusive privilege of the judge to measure the nature of the offence and the sentence to be awarded. The Prime Minister of the Union and the Chief Minister have, through this hand-out, definitely told the courts to award sentences measured out in years.

During the worst days of Non-co-operation, the magistrates were free to measure out the sentences. No Executive Council Members or Governors or Viceroy of those days expressed themselves in the manner the Prime Minister and Chief Minister have, according to the report, done over the Punjab situation.

The latest Punjab Ordinance of July 19 is an order drafted on the worst pattern taken from the files of the British regime. It is perhaps a vain cry, but I must warn the Government of India that it is being misled into most unnecessary and provocative steps. Apart from the merits of the issue of Punjabi Suba, it is not wise to take steps erring so greatly on the harsh side. After all, we want men's hearts and not simply success in a political tussle. And the hearts of the Sikh people are, to put it commercially, of greater value than many other things. It is not wise to make a people—who have played their great

part in recorded history—feel that the Government does not mind their feelings and is treating them harshly. Local advice is good and necessary, but sometimes distant advice may be better, and so I cast my bread on the waters.

July 30, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE ASSAM OUTRAGES

WHAT has happened to us that it should be possible such horrid things could be perpetrated in Assam? The full story of all the evil doings has not appeared but in the areas where they were done, things could not be suppressed from general knowledge, and one trembles to think of all the wickedness and the outrages on human fellowship.

People in other parts of India see but little difference between the men and women of Bengal and those of Assam. Of all the errors we have been guilty of, the greatest has been the tribal idea of linguistic isolation in a great country whose languages are so closely related to one another. It has given a wicked impulse to so many other prejudices and dislikes between men and men, and retarded the natural synthesis that was proceeding in its course in the expanded life of today. It has given fresh and increased scope for small minds to gather strength and influence for evil, while it has served to reduce the status and power of large hearts and wiser heads.

We could throw the blame on religion for the riots and crimes that came on the wake of the Partition, but what shall we say about and learn from the happenings in Assam? Men and women, who speak almost the same language, who worship the same gods, who eat and clothe themselves alike, have fallen

upon one another as if they belonged to different barbarous nations at war with each other.

How much wiser it would have been if we had kept the large provinces of the old days intact without yielding to the demand for erecting smaller platforms for smaller men, raising walls of isolation all over Bharat? It will take long, very long for men and women to forget what has been inflicted upon them without any just cause or excuse. And India's reputation for civilization has been sadly bruised, if not deeply wounded.

July 30, 1960 *Swarajya*

ERRORS IN PLAN CALCULATIONS

An examination of the Third Plan finance leads to certain points of a grave nature. The Plan is based on a wrong assessment of expected national savings, and on a consequent underestimate of the required foreign aid. The amount of money that will have to be printed with its inflationary effects will be much greater than what is assumed now.

Experts do not estimate the national savings as assumed in the Plan. There are obvious fallacies in the calculations of the planners. Experts have reason to believe that, unless resort is made to physical restraints and compulsions adopted in communist countries, the assumed national savings for the Plan period cannot exceed Rs. 5,900 crores. The Plan contemplates an investment of Rs. 11,250 crores, if we do not exclude as the planners have wrongly done the expenditure on overheads and social services inherent in the Plan projects. If we estimate national savings at Rs. 5,900 crores, the deficit in resources would be Rs. 5,350 crores.

As against this deficit of Rs. 5,350 crores, the Plan visualizes foreign aid estimated at Rs. 3,200 crores, from which if we subtract what is to be consumed by buffer stocks of food-grains and by repayment for past foreign aid, we shall have a foreign aid figure at Rs. 2,500 crores. Thus there will be an uncovered deficit of Rs. 2,850 crores, which must be met by fresh and additional taxation and printed money.

The errors that vitiate the Plan computation are the inflated rate of savings applied to an inflated estimate of national income, underestimate of the outlay needed, by disregarding expenditure on social services and administrative overheads entailed by the Third Plan investments, and unrealistically assuming the cost of the required imported machinery, material, etc., in the coming uncertain years, and lastly, ignoring the adverse effects of fresh taxation and increased inflation on the expected savings. These grave defects will no doubt be more elaborately examined by experts and exposed in due course. But public opinion should not, in the meanwhile, mislead itself into complacency by the hand-outs of government. When Government undertakes to make calculations in advance of all phases of life during the next five years of 400 millions of people, it is easy to make errors in calculation, with incalculably disastrous consequences by way of inflation and chaos.

August 6, 1960 *Swarajya*

TIRUVALLUVAR

TIRUVALLUVAR ranks with Confucius, Marcus Aurelius, Buddha and others of that class. *Tirukkural,* or *Kural* without the honorific prefix 'Tiru', is Tiruvalluvar's book. It is one of the oldest extant Tamil works. It is generally accepted as belonging

to a period anterior to the second century A.D. Some scholars place it in the first century B.C.

Tiruvalluvar was one of those rare and great men whose catholic spirit rose above all denominations and religions, whose vision was not clouded by dogma or prejudice of any kind. His approach to moral doctrine is marked by a very thorough knowledge of human psychology, and a desire to help men with practical hints in the struggle against evil. Throughout his great book we can see how the poet and saint brings everything down to the level of practicability but without losing hold of the ideal.

His first book of *Kural* is the most widely known and most appreciated work in Tamil literature. It consists of 38 chapters and deals with the duties of man as a householder and as an ascetic. The second book consists of 70 chapters dealing with policy in worldly affair, including statecraft. The chapters are not addressed only to princes and those around them. They contain principles of conduct that should guide all persons engaged in secular affairs.

Tiruvalluvar, like other Indian saints, did not believe that statecraft and *dharma* could be separated. The well-known Indian doctrine handed down from the Rshis is that *artha* and *kama* should ever be associated with *dharma*. If dissociated, the hunt for *artha* and *kama* would be sinful. Tiruvalluvar was no dissenter from this ancient doctrine.

> There is no greater wealth one can claim than *dharma* and no misfortune greater than the forgetting of it.
>
> Go as far as strength and resources permit without swerving from the path of *dharma*.
>
> Keep the mind from evil thoughts This is the whole of *dharma*. The rest is only of the nature of sound and show.

These quotations will give an idea of Tiruvalluvar's approach in all matters.

With one more quotation, I shall conclude this little article.

> Do not say to yourself, let me see about it later when I shall be better fitted. Live a true religious life now, it will be the one unfailing support when all else will disappear and be of no use

This translation has not added anything to the original but tries to bring out all that is stated by Tiruvalluvar in two lines of Tamil verse consisting altogether of 18 syllables. The characteristic beauty of Tiruvalluvar's style has been recognized by all Tamil authors and scholars as consisting in its precision and brevity of expression.

August 7, 1960 *Bhavan's Journal*

INDEPENDENCE DAY REFLECTIONS

GANDHIJI waged a campaign for the substance of freedom and said he would accept it, even if Britain were not willing to grant Independence in the strict legal sense. Today we might reverse the proposition and ask the question whether, although we have Independence, we have the substance of freedom. The Swatantra Party's view is that the ruling party has deprived Independence of the substance most essential for citizens.

That the organization going by the name 'State' is necessary for modern human existence and progress must be conceded. But it is erroneous to assume that the modern expediency demands the omnipotence of the State. Its power must be strictly limited if the citizens should feel and enjoy the sense of freedom. Ultimately in that sense, felt and enjoyed, lies true happiness; not in the 'standard of life' which can be achieved and enjoyed even in a servile State.

In a socialist polity the State claims all power and what may remain untouched is left to the citizens. In a free polity the citizen has freedom and what power is needed for orderly co-operation is given to the State to be exercised against the citizen. These two conditions may, when put in word, seem very much alike, but in reality they are poles apart. In fixing the limits of power between the State and the citizens, the citizen should be the primary and the State the secondary concern. If we proceed on the opposite basis we shall have minimum freedom for the citizen and maximum power for the officials and the ministers elected to power. But if we follow the proper rule, viz., that the citizen's freedom should be the primary concern as the Father of the Nation wanted, we should have a free economy and a free polity, and minimum power vested in the State for necessary control and check of anti-social elements.

Not only was the Father of the Nation interested in minimum government, but the Constitution-makers who gave us the law in 1950 laid down the frontiers very clearly, when they wrote down the directive principles for a welfare State and at the same time an obligatory chapter of fundamental rights The ruling party has decided that India should be a socialist State, which means that in the disputes between the citizen and the government the decision should be in favour of the latter. The Constitution has been amended in several respects to this end. In many matters even the Constitution as amended is being roughly handled and there is a slogan that the courts should march with the times, in order to allow this rough handling.

Independence Day should be a day reserved for serious reflection and self-examination, and for free and frank criticism. Republic Day, 26th January, may be a day of ritual and rejoicing but Independence Day, the 15th of August, should be a reminder for introspection and criticism. The greatest need of the people is good government, and the ruling party has signally failed to give it to the people of India.

The administration has deteriorated in efficiency, sense of justice and integrity. This deterioration is due to the improper

intervention of party bosses and under-bosses in order to deflect the course of just and impartial administration. The services have lost their old strength of character and are unable to stand up to the pressure put upon them by political managers.

The citizen's freedom is at its lowest ebb after thirteen years of Independence. The ruling party in India can ruin any man or group of men engaged in any trade or industry, a thing that is inconceivable in America or England. Whatever be the displeasure provoked, the ruling party has devised an 'ism to cover up all faults and failures. The 'ism serves to raise undefined hopes and confuse and deceive the people, and to cover up intimidation, injustice and tyranny.

In a welfare State, so called, the power of the ruling party is enormous, and if it chooses, it can perpetuate itself defeating all opposition at general elections. The period just before the election is utilised to pile up deceptive bribe-measures and to collect election funds for defeating all Opposition parties. That in other countries where the parliamentary system of democracy prevails, there is no provision for an interregnum at the time of general elections is no argument in a country where the ruling party holds a rope round the necks of everyone concerned in business, high or low, and where public funds are utilised so as to appear as gifts from the party for the special welfare of the poorest classes whose votes can be secured thereby. This practice of doubtful propriety can be stopped only if we have a constitutional law by which, for a period before the elections, a care-taker government should be put in charge of the administration.

August 13, 1960 *Swarajya*

DONATIONS TO CONGRESS PARTY CHEST

We are told that the contributions made by companies to the ruling party are voluntary and, therefore, the law should not prevent it. First, let us see what this argument means before I proceed to meet it.

If the commercial and industrial companies 'voluntarily' contribute huge sums to the Congress Party, then which is the rich man's party? Was it not a lie then to call the Swatantra Party the rich man's party, or is it claimed to be only a subsequent development and a new windfall?

Are the donations to the Congress indeed voluntary? Have not some of the directors of those companies expressed disgust at the pressure put? What was the force that impelled voluntary promises so much before the elections? Who called the gatherings together at which a huge sum was underwritten?

வேலொடு நின்றான் இடுவென்றது போலும்
கோலொடு நின்றான் இரவு

The ruler's request for gifts from his people is like the armed highway robber's demand couched in the language of politeness.
—*Kural*

What is given to a prince who wields power is given in fear. Will the Congress Ministry give a public pledge before collections are made that it will not victimize those who do not give? This may be of great use if sincerely given.

The arguments in answer to my challenge about the Congress stepping out of office, and giving the care of government to a non-party administration for six months before election time, are equally fallacious. Where the ruling party has enormous

powers over the economic life of the country and can ruin anyone who incurs its displeasure, or is suspected to have done it, it is impossible to have fair elections if the party is in power during election time. Parliamentary government is one thing, but the power of a 'welfare State' administration alters the situation. Where the ruling party holds a noose round every businessman's neck, (which is worse than the spear referred to by Tiruvalluvar) the votes given cannot be deemed as free votes. My proposal is not based on want of faith in the people as argued, but on want of faith in the Congress Party, for which I have ample grounds.

The law in America against political contributions by companies is a sound law, and it is absolutely essential in India. Again if fair and free elections are to be run in a country with a welfare State economy, with regulations and licences and permits controlling all business, the ruling party must vacate for a period before the election. Otherwise, it is easy for a party to perpetuate itself through the executive and legislative machinery which it can handle to its advantage. Especially is this the case when the people are not experienced in the many devices employed by political parties in power and do not know to distinguish between the State and the ruling party.

August 13, 1960 *Swarajya*

PRESIDENT'S ORDER ON OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

The press all round seems to be satisfied with the latest statements of the Prime Minister and the President on the official language issue. I agree that the President's order is not 'inconsistent' with the solemn and specific assurance given by the Prime Minister on the floor of the House. But being not 'inconsistent'

is not the same as containing all that had been said by the Prime Minister.

The statement of the Prime Minister contained the definite assurance that the imposition of Hindi in place of English will be done only with the assent of the people of the non-Hindi areas. This very important part of the statement should find a place in the presidential order. The omission of such a striking principle cannot but be deliberate. The press appears to be of the opinion that after the recent explanations, there is no room for any confusion now. I agree with Mr. Frank Anthony that the order of the Home Ministry running in the name of the President does require amendment in this respect. The important assurance given by the Prime Minister that in this matter the majority voice should not prevail but that of the non-Hindi people, should be made clear in modification of the articles in the Constitution. The whole of that chapter should stand deleted. But, at present, the least that should be done is that the important part of the Prime Minister's statement expressed in unprecedented and clear terms, but deliberately omitted in the order, should be restored to life and effective force. The recent explanations do not achieve this. This should not be lost sight of in the satisfaction rightly felt at the withdrawal of an ill-conceived and discourteous demonstration.

The unity of India stands to lose as a result of tinkering with the *status quo* in respect of the medium of communication among the States and the official language of the Centre, and the various experiments contemplated in university education. All those interested in the unity of India have been protesting, but an unreasoning ambition to push Hindi forward stands in the way of realization of this danger, and the Congress Party has not summoned up the needed courage to declare against Hindi.

August 13, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE STRAIT-JACKET

THE welfare State is the postulate of the Constitution of the Union of India : not socialism. The difference between the two is the difference between a jacket and a strait-jacket The former is worn for comfort, the latter is intended to restrict the movements of a person suffering from a violent form of insanity. Much of the advertisement done on behalf of socialism, and a great deal of its vogue in under-developed countries is traceable to the confusion between socialism and the welfare State, people equating one with the other. There are many ways of organizing and maintaining a welfare State other than the strait-jacket method known by the name of socialism. The conservatives have done it in Britain and America had been at it too. Socialism gives too much power to the State which must be exercised through highly paid officials. The members of the bureaucracy at various levels become the masters of the economic life of the people. They hold together like a clique Their contacts with those who for a profit produce and distribute, and do other services required for the life of the society, result in various forms of corruption, concealed monopolies and exploitation.

These are turned to good use for political power-purposes, so that the same group manages to remain in uninterrupted power although we are under a democracy.

Democracy can flourish only under certain circumstances. It requires conflict as well as social cohesion, called 'affection' by Aristotle. It requires conflict, for otherwise the *Ins* would never get out. It requires social cohesion, otherwise the *Outs* would be waging perpetual civil war as the Dravida Kazhagam in the South wants it. Social cohesion, Aristotle wrote, is more important than even justice. Developing classes and class jealousy for the purpose of votes is fatal to democracy.

August 13, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE SUBSTANCE OF FREEDOM

THREE decades ago the phrase 'substance of freedom' was used in a sense that is almost forgotten now. Gandhiji pleaded for the 'substance of freedom' being given to India although the British connection might be retained. That compromise was an important bridge-head in the controversy of those days.

Now the same words 'substance of freedom' may be used in connection with the controversy over the internal question of how far citizens are free in a socialist polity. Nations may enjoy the substance of freedom even though the British connection may still be there as in Canada or Australia. And under certain conditions they may not have the substance of freedom even though the British connection may still be there as in Canada or Australia. And under certain conditions they may not have the substance of freedom even if they are free from the British or other connection. We may have achieved political freedom as a nation, but the nation may be so governed as to rob individuals of the substance of freedom. The sun may be out of an eclipse, but clouds of the sun's own making may still hide the sun from us.

All appeals for right conduct, all moral exhortations make sense only when addressed to men who are free to choose. If citizens' lives are interfered with and controlled in numerous significant directions, it is useless to talk of freedom. There can be no personal freedom without economic freedom and this freedom goes down in a steep curve under socialist economy.

The border disputes between the State and the citizen are more important than the border disputes, for example, between Mysore and Maharashtra. The adjustments between the freedom of the citizen and the majority rule which the citizen

must accept in parliamentary democracy are of the greatest significance to his life. Freedom is an illusion if the State is raised to the level of the final owner of all things and master of all activities and the citizen only a tool in the employ of the State.

The State is not just a word spelt with five letters but the will of a majority of people with whom you may be in complete disagreement and who rigidly control the opinions of even the individuals composing that majority. Party government makes the frontier between the State and the citizen very important, because the choice is not between right and wrong, but between your opinion and that of others who are just the same in all respects as yourself but who happen to be able, for a variety of causes, to commander more votes in their favour.

That the organization called the State is necessary for modern human existence and progress must be conceded. But it is erroneous to assume that nature or expediency demands the omnipotence of the State. Its power must be strictly limited if the sense of freedom is important, for ultimately that sense lies in the individual's consciousness and nowhere else. The citizen must be free and feel that he is free.

What should be the limitations on the power of the State is the real and important question. "What are the frontiers of the citizen's freedom?" is the form the question takes in a socialist State. The assumption behind the question as thus put is wrong. It is the citizen that is the reality and the tangible and unalterable fact. His freedom must be taken for granted for all mechanism which may be good or bad, being made in parliamentary democracies out of a majority of votes and many other circumstances not altogether perfect or even good. The frontiers of this mechanism created by citizens for their good must be strictly and carefully limited. The frontiers of the citizen's freedom must be as wide as possible. The benefit of the doubt must ever go to the latter.

In a socialist polity the State claims all power and what remains may belong to the citizens. In a free polity the citizens are free, and just what power is needed for ordered co-operation is given to the State. It is not a mere matter of words but one of very great significance whether, in fixing the limits between the State and its citizens, we go on the principle that the citizen is the primary and the State secondary, or whether we go on the reverse principle. We should have maximum freedom for the citizen and minimum power for the State under one principle. If we proceed on the opposite basis, we shall have minimum freedom for the citizen and maximum power for the officials of the State. The former is what the Father of the Nation wanted. The latter is what prevails in the socialist States of China and Russia.

The angle of approach is important. It greatly affects the course of the necessary compromises between freedom and regulation when details are to be worked out. It is important to preserve the initiative and the incentive of the citizen; for the power and stamina and the progress of a people depend on this and not on the regulations that the State imposes. The individual's energy is at the base of all productive activity, while all that the State can claim is what it needs for maintaining order and effective co-operation. Its purpose is negative, in whatever words that negative may be clothed. The positive source and the mechanism for energy are the individual's potential which must enjoy the maximum opportunity and only the necessary minimum retardation. A socialist State not applying the whip of compulsory labour is ever only a retarding mechanism If it remains true to its professions of abstention from compulsion, it is a drag and not a help.

Not only was the Father of the Nation interested in minimum government, but the Constitution-makers who gave us the law in 1950 laid down the frontiers very clearly when they wrote down the chapter on Fundamental Rights. These rights include the economic freedom of the citizen which are now the

subject matter of a severe attack on the part of the forces of the State and the Congress Party. The ruling party has decided that India should be a socialist State, which means that all the boundary disputes between the citizen and government should be decided in favour of the latter. The ruling party fights from a position of advantage against anyone that challenges this policy. The Congress Party rules and holds the strings of economic life and holds elections with all those advantages. It claims that it is a fair fight, which it certainly is not.

The substance of freedom is for this reason in great jeopardy. Those who realize the importance of winning this battle must see that all available courage is summoned and the battle fought with heroic determination. The ruling party will win easily if this is not done and the economic hold on the citizen will be further tightened making a second battle hopeless. Those who are most entangled in the State's tentacles must be the first to realize the significance and supreme importance of the struggle and throw away the many temptations to drift.

Nothing fails so despicably as fear, and nothing so succeeds as courage. Tyranny cannot be overcome by fear but only by courage, the courage to give a straight battle. To flee in terror or hide oneself away from the straight fight and hope to succeed in compromises on details will end in a rout. At best such tactics will only result in getting the better of your fellow men which is a miserable game.

The call of freedom is loud and insistent. The future depends on the response. When the battle for freedom was fought against Britain we called for courage and the taking of risk and the response was such as brought success. In the battle for the freedom of the citizen, which is the true substance of national freedom, there is the same call for courage and the taking of all the risks involved, and may it be that the response will be equally good !

August 14, 1960 *The Illustrated Weekly of India*

P. M'S ASSURANCE TO NON-HINDI PEOPLE

I am glad the issue of forcing English out and substituting Hindi in its place has once again come up to active notice. It was crude to put forth the threat of a far-from-decent demonstration at the time of the President's visit to Madras But annoyance, discourtesy, disorders and riots, however greatly and sternly deprecated, do seem to be the only effective means to induce rethinking on the part of the present Government of India. This is unfortunate but, alas, true. The language issue has been brought into focus again in that way.

This is an issue that should be settled by reason and unbiassed non-party thinking, not to be settled by votes, and certainly not to be settled by votes produced on the strength of party discipline and package loyalty to the Congress. The Constitution is the concern of every one in the Union, the concern of the least as much as of the largest part. The minority's protection, its only and final protection, is the Constitution. It is, therefore, pre-eminently the minority's charter, even if the majority may sometimes want to by-pass it. Similarly, the official language of the Central Government is not the concern of the majority but of every one in the Union. It is a *joint and several* concern. Just as a family in the Hindu law cannot, by a majority, bar a member of it claiming his rights, and even a single junior member could challenge all the others and stand up against the whole family and claim his right, the voice of the non-Hindi people cannot be drowned by the noise of the Hindi speaking people, even though these be larger than any other single language group.

It may be good to remember in this connection that the Hindi-speaking people are not a majority as is commonly supposed. Indeed if the dialects of Hindi, among which there is

not always peace and concord, be taken into account the numerical claim of the Hindi protagonists is much reduced. But this is irrelevant in the present context.

The unity and the smooth running of life in India with its fifteen or more languages require the continuance of the medium which the people have been managing with, for the last many progressive decades, viz., English. It is fallacious to mix up feelings of reverence, pride or classical love to interfere with a question of mere mechanical present purpose. Let us not choose the official language for Central and inter-State purposes, as a young man chooses a sweetheart, but on more reasonable, if less, romantic considerations.

No one will question the use of any language that finds its natural premier position in the bazaar and the common places of human intercourse. Let it be what is best suited for that purpose. But when we come to administration and policies of large import, the conversation, be it speech or be it writing, between State and State and therefore at the Centre must be through a medium that has hitherto served well, and will continue to serve well, with ease and with the least output of fresh human energy, voluntary or compulsory. I claim that it is English and English alone.

What is the public answer to the question? We have it already. No referendum can give a truer answer than the present circulation of newspapers in India. The English language dominates easily in that field and without any political or party interference. The papers published in the English language command by far the largest circulation, and this is growing every day and not diminishing, even when we are engaged in controversy over the imminent ascendance of Hindi on the throne. All newspapers that may be classified as all-India papers are running in English. Not a single Hindi paper can claim to be of all-India character. What more proof can we find or demand for the concrete reality of fitness and expediency? That the

most convenient and the most efficient medium for the discussion of policies of administration and State business is English, is proved conclusively by the newspapers test. I called to witness this same dumb, but convincing, fact some time ago publicly and there was no answer or counter-claim. There is no answer possible.

And so I beg of those who have the good of the country at heart, irrespective of party policies and local electioneering advantages, to vote for Truth on this grave issue. I say again this is my private battle, not the Swatantra Party's battle. I stick firmly to the view that English and English alone should be the Central and inter-State official language, so long as politicians and other people interested in public affairs throughout India prefer to buy and read English newspapers.

The request of the non-Hindi people is just and is supported further by the fact that English has worked and has been tolerated for over a century with no ill effects.

Bilingualism is a good compromise on paper but not in practice. It can be indulged in for the purpose of proclamations, notices and laws being printed for the public. But to let people working in the same office run in chaotic manner, with a free choice between two languages, is not conducive to efficiency, speed or economy. It is impracticable and wrong, unless our very object is to create discord and inefficiency and introduce political quarrels in administrative offices. It is strange that this is not realized and people talk of a bilingual solution for the issue. Bills and acts of the legislature and the Ordinances of the President should of course be published in both English and Hindi. All promulgations of that sort should be bilingual or multilingual but not the actual work in offices. I repeat, the only common-sense solution is to let the *status quo* remain. We have eaten and found the pudding good. Let us not change and buy trouble. Let English continue as hitherto with the local languages at all those levels where they are necessary. The work

in all the administrative offices and the courts have been running efficiently on this basis. They will be in complete disorder if anything new be attempted.

I was labouring for the right words to put it in when I wanted to say that there are some things in which the *whole* and *not* only a majority have the right to be satisfied, wherein a part has greater right to object to innovation than the majority can urge in favour of a change. A friend sends me by a strange coincidence the following passage, just as I was writing this, which he came across in the course of his study of the history of English literature :

> Where security of person and property are preserved by laws which none but the *whole* can repeal, then the great Ends of Government are provided for, whether the Administration be in the hands of One or of Many. Where any one Person or Body of men, who do not represent the *whole* seize into their Hands the Power in the last Resort, there is properly no longer a Government but what Aristotle and his Followers call the *Abuse* and *Corruption* of one This distinction excludes arbitrary Power in whatever Numbers, which I look upon as a greater Evil than Anarchy itself

This from one of Dean Swift's little known pamphlets puts the principle in impressive and clear language, such as only Swift and Dr. Johnson wielded among English writers. There are some things that must be authorized by the whole and not by a part, however big be the size of the latter, where the smaller part must be treated with the same respect as the larger part, without whose consent no innovation can be tyrannically introduced by force of numbers.

I am glad the Prime Minister has re-affairmed his original assurance in unambiguous terms. His words "till such time as the non-Hindi people want to change it" can well be called the *Magna Carta* of the non-Hindi people. But the words should go as a definite amendment and addition to the Order

on language already issued in the name of the President. They could not be treated as rhetoric or surplusage, yet they were omitted when the Order was framed. That error should now be rectified in order to remove all doubts.

August 20, 1960 *Swarajya*

UNABASHED EXPROPRIATION

WE are told that a 'panel' set up by the Planning Commission has expressed dissatisfaction with the land laws on the anvils of the various States and has, in regard to compensation, suggested 40 to 50 per cent of the market value of the land acquired by the State,—not for any public purpose for which land is wanted but in pursuance of its socialist policy.

The compensation proposed in unabashed terms is half the value. This expressed ratio is a public confession that what is being given is not really compensation but something else not contemplated in the relevant article of the Constitution. The proportion of 50 per cent or any other percentage of that kind is not what the article in the Constitution, as amended, describes as 'principles' but proof of an unprincipled programme of expropriation without paying the compensation that is justly due.

A leading newspaper bemoans the intervention of this 'panel' with its gratuitous advice and calls it a 'fifth wheel'. It is not quite certain who is bent on greater injustice and more authoritarian policy, the various State ministers with the majorities behind them and trying to befool the electorate or the Planning Commission's panel. Ten times the land assessment, for instance, may be much smaller than 50 per cent of the market value, and would both be a flagrant violation of the intent as well as the letter of the Constitution. Compensation is compensation and must be true compensation, not an arbitrary

sum called by that name by the vote of the majority party in the legisuature. The absence of words like 'just', 'fair', or 'due' before the word compensation in the Constitution should not be interpreted to mean that anything fixed by arbitrary will is compensation. The absence of an adjective leaves the substantive in its true and full sense. Everyone knows that compensation should compensate and not merely be a fraction of the real value. Indeed true compensation should include a solatium for compulsory deprivation, over and above the current market value. Market value too has now become the plaything of party policies and totalitarian power, but that is another matter.

August 20, 1960 *Swarajya*

HOLDING THE PRICE LINE

'HOLDING the price line' is good. But what is good is not holding the line by Ordinance or physical compulsion. Where the price has risen by reason of greed and conspiracy among sellers, one can understand pains and penalties imposed by the omnipotent State. But when prices have risen on account of what the State has done and is doing according to plan, the thing to do is to look into the causes and amend the errors there. 'Fair' prices cannot emanate from the will of an official or group of officials or from the consumer's estimate of his own purse. The fair price for any article depends on the cost of production and transport and other incidental expenses. The cost of production rises with the rise of the price of raw materials and of the wages of labour employed. There may be vicious circles in operation, but they cannot be cut and put out of action by official fiat or prosecution. A fair price can be evolved only by actual competition among persons engaged in the production. Calculations in

secretariat rooms are likely to go all wrong, and more often wrong, by reason of politics than even through ignorance, which, too, is not negligible.

All the talk about holding the price line will finally lead to rationing and all its annoyances and inefficiencies, and to the great monster, the black market. Indeed, the black-marketing experts and middlemen, are eagerly looking forward to 'fair price' orders and the introduction of rationing. That kind of holding the price line is just what they desire.

The legitimate and true way to hold the price line is to remove or at least reduce what causes the prices to go up. But the socialist government will not be agreeable to a straightforward diagnosis. For that may mean revising the Plan, loss of prestige, change of policy, confession and possibly abdication.

August 20, 1960 *Swarajya*

COMPANY DONATIONS TO PARTY FUNDS

THE report of the Select Committee, and the dissenting notes attached to it, disclose an interesting situation the like of which has so far not been seen in India at any time. All the political parties in the country—all but the Congress Party—have expressed the view very strongly that companies should be prohibited from contributing funds to political parties. The Congress alone stands apart and objects to the ban. The Congress Party insists that it should continue to be supported by money 'donated' by companies whose every action in the course of their business waits on the pleasure, and dreads the displeasure, of the party which now controls government and the bureaucracy. The latter has now got accustomed not only to obey government orders but

to co-operate in their party matters too. Not to speak of victimizing orders, even delay with the appearance of time spent in investigation is enough to ruin a business. Under these conditions which prevail in this country at the present moment, it is no wonder that every party that wants free elections wants the prohibition of companies' donations to political party funds.

The ruling party puts forward its claim to collect funds from companies, unabashed by the irresistible inference to be drawn from this attitude—that it depends for success on the large contributions of rich companies and on governmental power, such as is held in a regimented economy. The controls on imports, exports and distribution are enough to squash any business at any time.

The People's Representation Act puts certain ceilings on expenditure by candidates, and has other elaborate provisions, but the Congress Party collects funds from its fat oxen and spends the money—God knows how—so as to nullify all these ceilings and restrictions, so elaborately laid down at Dr. Ambedkar's instance. Every other party objects to this collection of funds by the ruling party. But in a shameless manner the ruling party has rejected the amendment in the Select Committee. And if payments to the ruling party for election purposes should also be made free of income-tax, as some have suggested, there is nothing more to be done for the perpetuation of one-party rule.

A certain newspaper has distinguished itself by coming out with laboured arguments in support of retaining the right to collect funds from companies. It asks why companies alone should be prohibited and not other bodies such as social service organizations, etc. The answer is so plain that it is surprising how such a question is asked in the editorial of a leading newspaper. The answer is that where there is plenty of money to be extorted by the ruling party, the prohibition is called for, and not in the case of other bodies. Companies dealing with crores are not in the same position as charitable and other public asso-

ciations. The attempt to complicate a plain issue with such puzzles is futile. The law in America was passed after considerable experience, and the law in India should be far stricter if we want even the semblance of fair elections in this country.

It is not only funds but power and authority which make elections unfair. It is absolutely necessary that the ruling party should retire from the exercise of the powers in a regimented economy for a period before the elections, if we do not want an automatic re-election to power of the same party, time after time. In an economy such as we have, where thousands of crores, raised here and abroad, are handled by industrialists and others under the more or less direct regimentation of the ruling party in every detail, we cannot but expect absolutism and unbroken single party rule, if the suggestion that there should be a break during election time is not accepted.

Incidentally, there has been a Solomon's decision furnished on the question of which is the rich man's party, Congress or Swatantra. The Congress insists on rich companies' donations being available and resists any attempt to prohibit it. Its plea makes plain which is the rich man's party and what a lie it was for the Congress to tell the poor and illiterate folk in the country that the Swatantra Party was the rich man's party. Where a person or party is found to have indulged in deliberate untruth, it is no longer worthy of confidence.

August 27, 1960 *Swarajya*

PAKISTAN AND INDIA

"It is a sad thing that a people as warm-hearted as the Russian people—and I know from experience that they are warm-hearted—should be represented by a

> government that is as cold-hearted, as brutal, and as hard as it has shown itself to be."

So said Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge on July 26 in the U.N. Security Council. On the same day and at the same place M. Vazily Kuznetsov, Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia, said about the American people :

> "The American people have friendly feelings towards the Soviet people but the government circles of the U.S.A. conduct a hostile policy towards the Soviet Union."

Here is a problem for political philosophers. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of either of these statements. The paradox of the so-called atomic age is that two nations are good and of kindly temperament, and each knows this of the other and solemnly affirms it; and yet the governments that rule these two nations are determined to be enemies, and eternally to suspect each other of treachery, and vote huge sums for this purpose.

The problem of the world is how to solve this paradox. For, the paradox affects the peace of the world and not only of the two nations.

There must be something wrong in the ordering of things under democracy which makes this contradiction between people and government possible. Democracy must be admitted to have failed in a vital matter if there is such a serious gap between the will of the people as admitted by friends as well as enemies on the one hand and the policy of the governments, on the other, although established by the consent or at least assent of the people concerned. It is not a transitory feature that may be explained by a time lag between public opinion and government. It is a continuing and persistent phenomenon. It is the substance of what is called the cold war.

It cannot be—or is it?—that nations put people in charge of their affairs, who think and feel and do the opposite of what

they themselves think and feel, deliberately by way of cautious supplement.

Or, is it that responsibility itself makes people less of human beings than they were when they were ordinary citizens without the responsibility of government ? If this be the case, what shall we do about it ? It is not an unimportant detail, but one fraught with grave consequence.

It is an intolerable evil that two masses of human beings should have feelings of kindly brotherhood towards each other but that they should be prevented from acting according to their nature by the governments that they respectively appoint for themselves, and worst of all, that the two peoples should feel wholly impotent about it. Both government and people submit to the paradox as inevitable. The consequence is that the governments make a deliberate effort to remove the paradox by bringing people to think as their governments do ! The governments have enormous power and effective instruments for this conversion. The cure in this case is certainly worse than the disease, for it substitutes friendliness by suspicion, fear and hatred.

What has been said about America and Russia applies also to Pakistan and India. The explicit admissions made by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge and M. Kunznetsov may not be parallel in the case of Pakistan and India, but there is enough in the national consciousness of the two peoples to make a parallel.

Independence and responsibility appear to create a situation, in this respect, worse than what prevailed before Independence.

An obvious alleviating remedy that suggests itself is more tourism than prevails now among neighbours. The craze for visiting distant countries may partly be diverted to near travel in order that the governments of the two neighbouring countries may feel less suspicious and afraid of one another. After all, Independence should be a condition conducive to happiness and free-

dom from anxiety. The ultimate aim is happiness and anything that goes contrary to it is not good, however attractive it may be. The time has arrived when nations should think out and be ready for parting with slices of Independence if thereby more happiness and more permanent freedom from anxiety could be obtained. World government at the end, and meanwhile treaties of mutual assistance must replace isolation and the Independence based on isolation.

August 27, 1960 *Swarajya*

MR. DHEBAR'S DEFENCE

Mr. U. N. Dhebar has offered his reactions to my challenge to the Congress Party that it should relinquish and withdraw from government power six months before the elections. He pleads hard for retaining power during the elections and seeks to divert attention from the point by the cheap argument that my challenge implies a confession of no prospects for the Swatantra Party. There is not the slightest attempt to deny my charge that government power is used to collect funds, and to collect votes and put the money thus collected into the elections, defeating the provisions of the People's Representation Act.

He does not touch my other challenge that companies' funds should not be drawn upon to keep the ruling party in unbroken authority. He does not touch that subject, presumably because he has no answer to the immorality of that procedure.

Mr. Dhebar draws his inference which can be tested in the elections. I draw another inference to which there can be an answer only from conscience, viz., that the Congress leaders confess that they cannot hope to win unless they retain and use gov-

ernmental power and the public exchequer at the time of collecting votes; they confess also that their pull depends on huge funds, conveniently extorted from companies doing big and small business under their party Damocles' sword.

The fact of the matter is that the Congress has got used to living and thriving through the chief ministers and deputy ministers and the administrative machine. Without these it feels like an orphan. This parasitic existence is a denial of the freedoms that make up democracy. My proposals are to free democracy from these abuses.

Mr. Dhebar harps on the claim that the Congress has an ideology and the Swatantra Party has none. The Swatantra Party's very name indicates its ideology. Its ideology is freedom in the truest sense. That the Congress keeps body and soul together, drawing sustenance from the administrative authority it was entrusted with and which it uses for its own party advantage every day and every single hour, has been made plain as a pikestaff. That it has not given good government is widely felt. The first duty of an alternative party is to replace it. The Swatantra Party depends on cohesion on certain fundamental principles and on free will and not coercion through whips and threats going by the name of 'party discipline'. The moral deterioration in the Congress has reached such a level as makes its leaders blind to the implications involved in their plea for holding office, and exercising administrative power over the voters, during the election period and in their opposition to the protection of companies' funds from the raids of Congress ministers for running their elections.

Mr. Dhebar should remember that for every ounce of administrative power mis-utilised for party purposes, and every roll of hundred rupee notes secured for the party through that means, there is a countervailing loss of moral power which must, one ultimate day, bring the Congress to disgrace. Indeed, if Mr. Dhebar could read men's minds he might even now see what the

people think of the Congress apart from Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. What was once the object of love and veneration now lives on the power to ruin people entangled in business, on fear instead of reverence and love.

August 27, 1960 *Swarajya*

BILINGUALISM

In the recent debate in the Madras Council, it is very regrettable that the Madras Finance Minister has reiterated his position in favour of prolonged bilingualism. "We ourselves having put forward the formula and having got it accepted, it would be rash to throw away all the advantages and keep the whole thing in the melting pot." This is a position that does not appeal to me. It was a mistake to put forward the formula and it is a mistake to reiterate it now. Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar put the case far more realistically than Mr. Subramaniam.

It should be obvious to anyone conversant with official work that bilingualism is a trap. The official language is the medium of daily work in the office and two languages cannot operate together. It will split each section of each office into two factions. It will breed the acutest and stupidest kind of politics where politics should be totally eschewed and make for greater expense by unnecessary expansion of the establishment. It will greatly contribute to a continued and harassing drive to penalize non-Hindi employees in all sorts of ways. Let us remember that the desire to impose Hindi has not been given up. It has only made a temporary retreat under cover of the Prime Minister's formula. What I rightly called the *Magna Carta* should be implemented properly and fairly and fully. Bilingualism is not an implementation of the Prime Minister's assurance. It will be a

cold war no more tolerable than what goes by that name in international circles. I give the warning that the promised legislation is not going to be a frank and fair affair. It will lean more towards implementation of steps to make Hindi the ultimate official inter-State and Central medium than towards implementing the Prime Minister's statement which I hailed as our *Magna Carta.* The Prime Minister's assurance in Parliament which he re-affirmed recently was not an assurance of bilingualism. It was an assurance that the *status quo* will not be disturbed till the non-Hindi people desire a change. This is very different from what the President in his personal capacity stands for, judging from his recent Madras speech. He sought to uphold a deadlock instead of giving a forthright assurance. We are not *imposing* English on anyone. We wish to continue and we wish every one to continue as they were doing from 1947 onwards up-to-date, excluding the ten decades before 1947 as belonging to a benighted age. English is the neutral protector of all the fifteen languages of India and it would be a sad mistake if our Tamil Government accepts bilingualism just because it was its baby. As sure as night follows day, bilingualism will lead to confusion and imposition of Hindi.

September 3, 1960 *Swarajya*

FIVE YEAR PLANS

THE Third Plan has been most ably criticized in Parliament by Mr. M. R. Masani. These long term plans of the present Government are founded on fallacies. They are based on two impossible premises; that the nation will, during the period, be in just the same condition as now with reference to many matters, and secondly, that the cost of things and services will remain the same as now. Both these static assumptions are wrong. Look at the

demand for huge additional defence expenditure now on account of what may be called, with a change in meaning, our " Himalayan blunder ". A defence against China has been forced on us unexpectedly. Such and other similarly disturbing things can happen any year, any time.

Again, see how the plans themselves cause inflation and increase the cost of enterprises and of administration. ' From year to year ' is a good rule for our limited visitors and for a changing world. More than that is like a snake trying to swallow itself from tail upwards. It cannot be done. Charging everything up for long periods leaves no room for parliamentary democracy. It is eminently fit for regimes intending and planning to remain for ever.

Democracy should be content with budgeting from year to year and not levy taxes and borrow money on the strength of its forecast of the future. All its calculations will go wrong. Wasteful suffering will be the only outcome of such long term ambitions. Here are a few words of advise from Dr. Schacht taken from his book, wherein he refers to his discussions with our Prime Minister on the draft of the first Five Year Plan :

> Nehru had asked me to arrange some discussions with the members of his Five Year Plan Committee, of which the draft had just been published On these occasions I was unable to veil my criticism behind mere polite speeches. All these Four Year Plans, Five Year Plans and such like have invariably seemed to me pretty senseless. In this instance also I could not refrain from demonstrating that the vast programme which had been envisaged for a period of five years could never be realized during that time. Still less would the means set down on paper suffice to carry it out It would be necessary to count on double and treble the cost as well as double and treble the time required.
>
> It seems to me far better to tackle a certain job each year—even if a smaller one—and to see it through so that, when completed, one can point to it as an example of progress and growth.

These plans may do well enough in countries which are run by totalitarian governments and where money does not come into the picture but only labour, and that can be ordered on compulsion and the resources are practically unlimited. They can have no place in our country. The rupee in India has fallen to 20 nP value within the last 20 years. No such thing can happen under communism where every citizen is a slave owned and held by the State. We wish for ourserves a different polity and a different economy.

When costly enterprises are undertaken on behalf of the nation and resources tapped for their successful execution, careful measures must be taken to avoid or remedy certain expected but unwanted accompanying evils It is this that distinguishes a plan from mere enterprise. Criticism of the Third Plan in British commercial circles appears to be based on this very ground—that attention has not been adequately paid to the inflationary effects of the huge plan. Foreign observers cannot well object to our ambitions, however high they may be pitched. Any comments in that direction are apt to be misunderstood. Outsiders cannot well say that our government is in too great a hurry to accomplish things that bring no immediate benefits to a starving population that has to bear the increased taxation imposed for such enterprises. But without being impolite they can point out that the inflation caused by these adventures has not been provided for, which is bound to add to the burden of the people. This, the City opinion in London has done, according to reports

September 3, 1960 *Swarajya*

A FAIR DEAL FOR SLUM-DWELLERS*

It is a sad sight to see these huts built on the slopes of drains and other water-logged low-lying areas untouched by the big house building movement now on foot in Madras to cater to the needs of the more fortunate classes. It is a heart-rending sight these huts present when inundated by the rains that come now and then, as if to point out with emphasis the misery of the women and children that cook and sleep in such huts.

But a sadder sight still is when we see these huts pulled down and the mud walls heartlessly razed to the ground by municipal or government officials, with a police van standing by, to prevent the protests of the victims assuming the shape of a riot. One need not command much imagination to realize the lot of the women and children who live from hour to hour on the brink of starvation in these huts displaced by Authority and left destitute with no one to go to for help or charity.

The idea of dealing with these slums by way of 'clearance' as we must do with mosquitos and rats and vermin, that is, to get rid of them because they are not wanted, is totally wrong. These people who have somehow or other managed to find a site whereon a low mud wall and a coconut leaf roof put over it provide them a place to cook some food and where they could bundle themselves to sleep during nights, deserve better consideration than they get now from the authorities. There is a new profession that has grown on the plight of these people—a body of clever touts and cruel grabbers who find means for getting these unauthorized

* "It is not the intention of this article to add to the difficulties of either the City Improvement Trust or the Corporation authorities or to embarrass the Government of Madras I wish to draw attention to certain essential principles to be remembered in connection with what has come to be known by the name of slum clearance," says Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in an introductory note.

occupations winked at, and who offer to guard these unfortunate people from the attention of the authorities and obtain for them irregular leave and licence to live uninterfered with. These touts are a pest. The whole business, if made known, cannot be tolerated by any honest government or civic authority. Yet these cruel and unscrupulous intermediaries are the only friends of these slum-dwellers and they are a profession as necessary as the gowned people that hang round the magistrates' courts to help the prisoners brought there by the police, with some kind of defence.

These slum-dwellers do not deserve to be hunted down like rats or mosquitos or stray dogs, as is now being done. They are an essential element in city life. They are as necessary as any other section of the population, say the police or the hawkers or the drain cleaners. These work hard as domestic and other servants and are absolutely essential for the life of the city.

The industrial workers and the low paid government officials are able to take care of themselves, relatively speaking. But these miserable people living in the slums, whose services too are essential, are helpless victims of laws and regulations that are enforced without reference to humanity or human rights.

'Clearance' is an absurd word to deal with the housing of these people and a more unwise or inhumane policy than this cannot be conceived. Here are people who are essential for the life of the city-dwellers. The men and the women and the children too do work in the city in the homes and the shops of the middle and upper classes, work which others will not do. Should not their housing be a concern of the people who employ them? How can we expect men and women to attend to daily duties without a lodging place to sleep in during nights and a place to cook in and keep their food?

The programme should be changed from 'clearance' to a real and adequate housing plan. There are difficulties, I

am aware, in recognizing the duty and in fulfilling it. But it has to be done.

There are considerations to be kept in mind in this connection which are often ignored. The place of work should not be too far from where they are asked to live. They cannot be expected to be able to meet conveyance expenses nor can their services be rendered properly and in time if they live at some distant place chosen by an unsympathetic official and allotted with the command 'take it or leave it'. The problem should be treated with the same consideration as the housing of industrial workers has recently attracted.

These slums have grown on sites wholly unfit for human habitation and without the assistance either of their employers or any welfare department. We must be grateful to them for the courage and spirit of self-help displayed by them in finding their own habitation. They are all now living in daily and hourly fear of being displaced, and their hearts sink when they see a group of huts pulled down anywhere. The whole business must be taken up as an urgent public duty. It is easy enough and quite legal for a tahsildar to come with police help and remove the 'encroachments'. But tahsildars and municipal officials and policemen are there to help society and citizens to live a happy and harmonious life, not merely to guard the legalistic rights of government over unoccupied land. The Mayor and the Collector and a sympathetic minister should sit together and devise a proper solution for the problem other than pulling down the huts and leaving the women and children to their fate. That these people have so long been looking after themselves is no reason for society and society's official agencies to think that they have no duty to perform by these people without whom city life cannot go on. They should all be properly housed somewhere, and near to their places of work and with such amenities as are essential for healthy life under present day conditions in this city. It is not merely a problem of aesthetics and clearance of ugly spots to present a decent appearance. When once it is realized

that these are essential for city life, that without them the upper and middle classes living in better houses cannot get on for a single day, there can be no rest till their housing problem is honestly and properly solved. The Corporation should deal with Government and together hatch a scheme and work it out as early as possible. This hunting them from one place to another must be stopped for the sake of common decency.

September 6, 1960 *The Mail*

CANNOT BE VOLUNTARY DONATIONS

It is truly remarkable that the great exposure of the times has not ruffled the complacency of the ruling party or its bosses. Authority has so emboldened them and hardened their sensibility that they rely on the capacity of the people to forget things rather than attempt to explain or defend. All the political parties in the country agreed solemnly to forgo the collection of donations from companies for election purposes but the Congress Party stood in lonely significance against the amendment of the law. They insisted that they must continue to exercise government power to annoy, intimidate, delay and ruin business and on the strength of that sanction collect fat sums from those in charge of the management of the companies' moneys. The money does not belong to those who disburse it, but this does not matter to the Congress Party. The law in America forbids such donations but this precedent too does not matter. The money is to be used to evade the intent and the provisions of the People's Representation Act but this too does not matter to it. The one thing it cares for is to be re-elected time after time, so that all distinction between party and State may disappear in the minds of the people and in the day to day administration of the land.

The socialist State policy, and in particular the various restrictions and regulations imposed by the State on individual enterprise and management, and on trade and business of all kinds as

a corollary to the implementation of the Plans, confer on the ruling party such enormous powers over the business community that no gifts by members of that community can be considered voluntary. Every donation to the ruling party is an extortion. During the British period, police associations were prohibited from collecting donations for their social and festive purposes, in order to prevent exploitation of their position of authority in the community, which was not half as much as what now Congress ministers enjoy and are allowed to enjoy. There is stronger reason now to prohibit collection of funds by the ministers and their associates in the party for political and election expenditure than the British regime had to ban collection of donations from citizens by the police. The ministers and their minions have a power, authority and opportunity to ruin people in the business community, more terrible than what any police official had over citizens in the old days. But the conscience of the present rulers does not reach up to the old British regime level, and collections from the business community will not be given up. The Congress Party insists that it must go on.

It was suggested to the Congress Party that whoever may be in power, there should be a six months' interregnum for party government, and a non-party administration should carry on during the election period, under the President and the Governors in their respective jurisdictions. But this too is not to be looked at by the greedy and power-mad party which has enjoyed office and cannot live without it. The Congress feels that it should hold full and obvious power during the election period. It is only then they can do many things to deceive and corrupt the voters and buy the votes of large groups. Not only the substance of power, but the convincing appearance of it, is felt to be necessary in order that the party may be voted in for another long period, so that corruption may go on in geometrical progression.

"If we are not to have company money, how can we win?" "If we step out of Government the voters will not vote for us

but will vote as they please." This is what the members of the once great Indian National Congress say to themselves and in unashamed manner reject the suggestion of an interval of no-party rule and a ban on the exploitation of company funds for election expenditure.

Huge sums were collected during the last elections according to the open admission of the most party-minded minister among them all, and bigger levies have been proposed at private conferences for spending during the coming elections. There may be a lot of private peculation in the affair but, allowing for such misdemeanours, the sum available for spending on Congress Party candidates leaves no room for fair and honest elections.

The double sin in the mind of the Congress Party in this connection—the resolve to misuse authority and to utilise the power of money—has been fully exposed in a manner amounting to a clear confession. Yet, such is the effect of continued authority among a subject people, that they are apathetic and silent. And this is what the Congress Party men rely upon. What do they care if the disclosure is a capital exposure? The exposure will soon be forgotten and men and women will not vote for communists. They will vote for a 'stable' government. Tyranny will indeed be stable if the conscience and courage of the people go to sleep. Awake courage, awake conscience, if democratic government is not to be lost by desuetude! Remember that *dharma* and *dharma* alone must win. This is the old and the true teaching. Do not believe that there is safety in yielding to fear. It is suicide and such suicide leads to a world of darkness, to life without light.

September 10, 1960 *Swarajya*

NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE

PARROTS all over, they all shout at the Swatantra Party : "You are only negative, what is your positive ?"

I have studied some mathematics and I do not much fancy this misuse of important mathematical words. Opposition to named error is not negative. It is as positive as any election pledge to build a hospital or a road or a bridge or to give subsidies. Here is individual farming and all that it implies—and it implies a lot—and if some one comes and meddles with it, either by expropriation or by forced conglomeration of different interests through the power of the State, we oppose it. We want individual farming to go on with rights of voluntary transfer intact. Is it negative ? It is nothing of the kind. It is a *positive* objection to expropriation of one kind or another.

Here is an administration which is not able properly and efficiently to do its normal work, attempting to take over what it has no experience or competency for. Farming, trading and industrial production, these are best done by those who have been doing them. We say, for Heaven's sake, do not meddle with things you do not know.

When the Congress Party wants to commit grave errors of this sort, what is the duty of wise men ? To shout, and if not listened to, to form a political party to oust the ambitious bunglers. Is it improper to do it ? If not, it should not be libelled as 'negative'.

Error is mostly positive and wisdom is mostly negative, if one must use these terms, which have a meaning in mathematics, but have little or no similar meaning in human affairs. If a man runs away with another man's wife, or enters a house at

night or steals from another's pocket or bank account, it is all 'positive' but bad. The opposition of good men to all these things is 'negative.' For that reason it does not cease either to be important or necessary. Read chapter 20 of the book of Exodus in the *Bible*, the famous commandments are there, all negative. It is difficult to oppose evil and it requires positive energy, spiritual and physical, to oppose and succeed.

The charge of being 'negative' is all over the speeches, and all over the columns, which seek to buttress the ruling party's line and to push Swatantra back. It is just parrot cry. When a party that has ruled for thirteen years has to be moved out and the people's mandate obtained for the process, the offences of the ruling party are the issues before the electorate and these cries of 'negative' and 'positive' have no meaning whatsoever. The Congress is stupid. The Congress is bad. These charges are not negative, but positively call for a change of government. What is needed is courage and decision of character among those who suffer.

Then there is another parrot cry. "The Congress has an ideology. The Swatantra Party has no ideology." This is a more baseless story than the positive and negative legend. The Congress is very proud of the ideology it adopted at Avadi. Before socialism was adopted in 1955, had the Congress no ideology? The Swatantra Party's ideology is liberty—liberty from over-much State-control. If the nation had a valid and sustaining ideology when it fought for freedom against the British Government, the nation has now a valid and sustaining ideology in its fight for emancipation from the strangulating excesses of single-party rule. It is this battle that the Swatantra Party is waging. Again what is needed is courage and decision of character among those who suffer.

September 10, 1960 *Swarajya*

BASIS OF REORGANIZATION OF STATES

An exceedingly interesting thought has issued from the Malayan Minister of Agriculture. Mr. Inche Abdul Aziz Ishak told a Selangor audience that the influx of culture protagonists from India was doing great harm, because their talk impeded the process of racial integration that was going on in Malaya. "These people always try," he said, "to remind you of your connection and ties with your ancient motherland. If this continues unchecked, it will slow down the process of racial integration and the building of a united Malayan nation."

Mr. Ishak has placed his finger on an important point. He has put it frankly and clearly, which required great courage to do. There is universal truth in the mischief he has pointed out and his warning has much wider application than what Malayan national interests demand. There is a natural process of synthesis and integration going on all over the world on account of the enlargement of communications and the call of peaceful commerce, and sometimes as a result of administrative compulsion arising out of historic causes that have placed different peoples under one government. This process of synthesis is hindered by the recurring appeals made on behalf of old cultures which happen to be sectional, notwithstanding their undoubted merit. Well-meant appeals to cultural patriotism tend to split societies which by natural causes were integrating and fusing into one. The Malayan case is only an instance of a wide-spread phenomenon.

Take the case of Hyderabad. A process of fusion was suddenly stopped when linguistic slogans prevailed, and the Nizam's State was taken over and splintered into three distinct sub-nationalities and distributed among three language States. The new additions to Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnataka have not yet been completely integrated with the host regions, but

the pre-linguistic synthesis has been hopelessly destroyed. No one regrets this more than the Prime Minister of India, but he was a helpless instrument for—what he did not like at all,—the disintegration of Hyderabad.

There are mixed populations—in varying proportions but which are, all the same, important elements—composing the various States in India. There are Bengalis in Assam and Orissa; there are Gujaratis in Maharashtra; and Maharashtrians in Gujarat; there are Andhras in Tamil Nad, and there are Malayalis everywhere; there are Tamils in Kerala, and numerous families there are in Andhra who came originally from Tamil Nad; there are Kashmiris in Uttar Pradesh, and Gujaratis and Marwaris in all the States. The list can be still further enlarged. All these settled families from other parts of the country were many of them long ago integrated with the local population, and the rest were steadily being absorbed. Sometimes the mother-tongue is kept up in a 'corrupted' form and sometimes it is given up in favour of the local language.

The intrusion of protagonists of the mother-tongue and of the mother-culture is disturbing, hampering and preventing the integration everywhere and creating problems political as well as psychological, instead of improving culture either sectional or general. The rousing of sub-national and chauvinistic sentiments begins sweetly and ends bitterly. Natural forces act towards compromise, accommodation and synthesis, and these beneficent results are prevented by what Mr. Ishak has referred to. Inter-State settlers, not only in India but all over the world, normally tend to adopt the customs, manners and even the language of the population around them. But the protagonists of culture and language coming with a halo round their heads intervene to prevent the natural integration on a basis of false pride and attachment.

Better communications are good but sometimes a period of isolation intervening also does great good, by compelling dis-

parate elements to shed their disparities, work in mutual cooperation and absorb the local language and manners, and fuse into unity with the host community. There are Gujaratis in Madras and Andhras in the deep Tamil districts who can speak better Tamil than the born Tamilians, and who are practically sons of Tamil land. Some Telugu families in Tamil Nad have produced very good Tamil pundits. The old Tamil families in the Andhra Pradesh were lucky not to be disturbed in the manner Mr. Ishak has complained, and they have been so completely absorbed that they cannot be distinguished at all from the original Andhra families.

What is very good becomes an evil under certain conditions. Even kindness often spoils the beneficiary and prevents the natural evolution of strength and self-reliance. Coddling is never good and what appears harsh or cruel often does more good. Nature being law, looks cruel but is ultimately the best educator.

September 10, 1960 *Swarajya*

ONLY WAY TO FULL EMPLOYMENT

A lot of ignorant animadversion against capitalists issues out of want of understanding as to the mechanics of money and from mere prejudice. When indulged in by politicians, it is a trick of rousing and using class hatred for securing the support of a large group. It pays the politician to attack landlords and industrialists, as the tenants and factory workers count the larger number of votes. Capital is as necessary as labour for production. The question is only whether the State should be the big and sole capitalist and all management, efficient or the contrary, put in one basket, so to say, or whether there should be decentralized capital alongside of a strong personal interest in

its proper utilization and a degree of competition to check inefficiency.

The use of money is to create opportunities for employment. The habit of hoarding has gone out of fashion. Those who get large incomes these days put their money in banks or in business—and in either case the money either directly or indirectly goes into production in the form of capital. People no longer keep their money locked up or buried. There is no way of increasing employment or, which is the same thing, of reducing unemployment except by the expansion of business. If the money earned by the rich goes into production, they render service to the community by enlarging business. The government takes a share of all income in the shape of taxes. Some of this also goes into production. But the larger part is spent on the several unproductive but necessary purposes which government must look after. The essential difference between government's productive activities and those of private citizens is that the former is more expensive if not wasteful, and the latter is generally frugal and better managed on account of the personal interest involved. It follows, therefore, that money left with individual citizens is more productive than the money taken over by government. So it is that the less of the latter the better for the nation. It is a shortsighted policy for any State to tax heavily and take over too much of the business of production and distribution instead of leaving it to the private citizen. Frugal and efficient management is the characteristic of the private sector and this arises out of the profit motive. The profit is the price we have to pay for economic and vigilant management.

Money does not remain idle in modern times. Wherever it is left, and whosoever has earned it, the money goes into production and if we tolerate the profits that businessmen make out of their business it would be most frugal for the State to let money remain in private hands. Idle money should be taxed but money that goes into production should be encouraged; for it means

more and more employment. There is very little idle money these days. Whether it is 'black' or 'white', it is busy producing, being employed as capital.

If anyone makes more profit than is good for the community, let it be taxed. No one can complain that there is not now heavy enough taxation. A lot of ignorance and prejudice blur economic issues. Policies born of prejudice are certain to hurt national interests.

The foregoing paragraphs were written last week, and now receive confirmation in the news this week-end about the World Bank's latest advice to India. The World Bank that symbolizes the Western world's joint effort to help development all over, has played the part of an essential pillar of our Plans, and its advice cannot be set aside by the present rulers of India as advice from the Swatantra Party can be. The Prime Minister's speech in Parliament on his Third Plan was a lecture on the supreme advantages of socialism and the wisdom of putting all national energy and resources—as much as humanly possible—into the nationalized and public sector of our industries and our trade. Here is what the World Bank advises in a very polite tone. (A representative of a leading paper reports from New Delhi, September 10):

> A plea for greater scope for the private sector and for removal of certain irksome controls and regulations for the successful implementation of industrial projects included in the Third Plan is made by the World Bank Technical Mission in its report. The Mission has asked the Government to institute, at the enterprise level, an objective enquiry into the impact of controls on the efficiency of managements in order to eliminate trivial formalities and also to rationalize the price structure for the purpose of stimulating industrial development. Such an examination, according to the Mission's report, would carry conviction about the real intentions of the Government to foster a mixed economy. Warning against excise controls, the Mission has remarked that one of the most harmful effects of controls in India is that they are parti-

> cularly discouraging to small enterprises. The Mission also considers it desirable that a large percentage of industrial profits should be allowed to be retained by businessmen in future if private industry is to expand sufficiently to utilise the products which the public sector would manufacture. After referring to the widely prevalent idea in India that large profits are immoral, the Mission feels that the margin of profits upto 12 per cent of the capital employed, now allowed for businessmen, leaves very little for financing expansion of units. While measures to restrict profits through taxation and price controls are considered by the Mission necessary up to a point, they should not be imposed in such a manner as to have a cramping effect on development.

This advice from a most friendly source cannot but be given the most earnest consideration and importance, if the Government keeps the real goal of it all, namely, the welfare of the people, at heart and not allow dogmatism to overrule wisdom.

If all this advice is taken up seriously and put through, it will be found how far the resources fall below the requirements of the planned investments and how greatly in need of revision the Plan stands.

Monopolies arise out of State trading and State management, not out of private industry or private trade, as the Prime Minister believes. When the Government takes over any business it immediately hands it over directly or indirectly to a selected individual who, thereupon, becomes not only a monopolist free from all competition, but a veritable government authority. When the government does not intervene but leaves things to private hands, the production and distribution remain open to competition. The favourites, licensees and agents of government always enjoy a baneful monopoly. It is a pity that the Prime Minister fails to see this and holds on to the policies of State trading and nationalization.

The only path to full employment—and this is the true goal—is to let capital grow freely. Enterprise must be emancipated

and not put in chains. It will then absorb potential labour in increasing measure. The private sector must be liberated from all harassing deterrents that prevent its rapid growth. Capital formation in the private sector is a national benefit and should be encouraged and not treated as a criminal activity to be suppressed and prevented. Employment can expand on a widespread pattern, only if capital is allowed to grow. "One of the most harmful effects of controls in India is that they are particularly discouraging to small enterprises." No wiser words could be written than these remarks of the World Bank Technical Mission.

September 17, 1960 *Swarajya*

NEW PRIVILEGE CLAIM BY LEGISLATURE

THE motion sought to be put before the Legislative Assembly of Madras to deal with the High Court's judgment in Mr. Alagirisami's case is indeed a strange motion. It is based on the wrong notion that any discussion of a minister's action or conduct of business must be done only in the legislature and cannot be attempted by others, not even the High Court. It is an unconstitutional proposition and would lay the axe at the root of democracy. Not only the High Court but every newspaper, every association, and every citizen has the right to discuss a minister's conduct of public affairs falling within his duties. When the Advocates Association in Madras discussed the appointment of Mr. Alagirisami as Government Pleader, it exercised this right. When the papers wrote about it, they exercised it. Surely the High Court alone cannot be prevented from examining the matter when it came up before it in the course of its judicial work. The protection given to the Legislative Assembly's dignity cannot be extended to a minister's executive work. This would be an absurd extension of the so-called privileges of the legislature.

The legislative bodies have been given a certain power to deal with breaches of their privilege wherein they act both as prosecutors and judges without any appeal thereafter. But these powers are limited strictly to matters arising from the legislator's activities as legislators. The ministers' work as ministers is of a different kind, and if their work is to be saved from all criticism outside the legislature wherein the ministers command a majority vote, it would be the end of democracy.

The motion sought to be put before the Madras Legislative Assembly over the remarks of Mr. Justice Balakrishna Aiyar in his judgment in a certain case was thoroughly misconceived. It would be right to argue on the basis of division of functions between the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, that the last mentioned authority has no power to *direct* the legislature to act in a particular way or to direct the minister to act in any specified manner. This would be perfectly right except where a fundamental justiciable right has been infringed. Mr. Justice Balakrishna Aiyar did not *direct* the Madras Government to do anything. He gave his opinion on what they did, which came up for examination in a case before him. He had a right and a duty to do this and under Article 211 of the Constitution the judge's action cannot be debated in the Legislative Assembly. It would seem that some members of the Legislative Assembly desire to create new privileges the House of Commons never aspired to. The sooner this matter of privilege is reduced to a simple statutory form the better.

A corollary of the rule of law is that the function of interpreting the Constitution and the laws, and of reconciling any conflicts appearing therein, is a judicial function. In that sphere the High Courts and the Supreme Court hold the sovereign position. If, therefore, any question arises as to the intent and scope of any articles of the Constitution, it is the courts that are the ultimate authority. Parliament and local legislatures can amend the laws in their respective jurisdictions, and Parliament can amend the Constitution itself under certain conditions prescribed

in the Constitution. But as and when the law or an article of the Constitution is made, the interpretation and application fall within the authority of the judicial arm of the State.

September 17, 1960 *Swarajya*

SIR M. VISVESWARAYYA

I first saw Mr. Visveswarayya in Castle Kernan in Madras in 1896 where he was Mr. Biligiri Iyengar's guest. I lived there with many other Law students from Mysore and we were shown the great engineer who had done remarkable work in Sindh under the Bombay Government.

In the early twenties when we had a big Khadi exhibition in Bangalore and I was one of the proud organizers, Mr. Visveswarayya honoured it with a visit and was charmed with the charts we had prepared and exhibited. I was glad, and somewhat amused, at the simple things he was pleased with.

Later, barring other casual occasions, the grand old man was my honoured guest in Calcutta in 1947, when he developed great affection for me. He never tired, after that, giving me advice whenever he met me about how I should keep well and live long.

Mr. M. Visveswarayya's one passion in life has been—it still is the same when he is entering his 100th year—the desire to see India industrially developed. His plan is that small industries should develop around every village and absorb the unemployed and part-employed rural population in small and medium size workshops of all kinds spread over the whole area, through local initiative with government assistance.

Mr. Visveswarayya—it is good to point this out in these days —is a man of incorruptible integrity and a model of personal purity of character. His simplicity and sense of correct behaviour are extraordinary, rising sometimes to an unbelievable degree. At his great age, after crossing 90, he would insist on making his calls and receiving and sending off people whom he respected. He would not listen to friendly advice not to take that trouble when no one would blame him for discourtesy. He has often surprised me in this way, climbing steps and waiting to say goodbye to me at the airport and at railway stations. A pure soul and a great heart and a passionately patriotic citizen of India enters on his 100th year.—*Visveswarayya Centenary Souvenir.*

September 17, 1960 *Swarajya*

KHRUSHCHOV HOLDS INITIATIVE AGAIN

THE rift in theory between Russia and China has figured in the international press. I wish so much had not been made of it by the Western press. Such differences of opinion have no great significance in policy. There is enough room in communist dialectics for an easy solution of such varieties of thought and for continued common action. Even otherwise, it were best the West, from its own point of view, did not show so much glee over it, because this itself would be an incentive to a mutual understanding on the other side and the rift would be made to disappear for self-preservation's sake. Co-existence for the communists is only a temporary political make-shift. In the plane of truth, world communism is the inevitable ultimate fact for the convinced communist, be he Russian or Chinese. It is, therefore, not difficult for China to reconcile herself to her Russian partner in ideology, and for both to agree to work from two different angles to a common goal. The West should attach no importance to the so-called rift. It is not a difference in ambi-

tions, either territorial or ideological or anything that will affect their mutual alliance. China still depends far too much on the military equipment to be supplied to her by Russia to let an ideological rift to take a political colour.

Instead of hoping for a weakening of the communist bloc, attention should be directed to the problem of doing away with a military weapon which means world suicide. It is the common enemy of mankind against which all of them, Russia, Britain, America and France must unite and wage a joint war, as they did once before against Hitler. Even in that war, it was Russia who brought all the others together to wage a common battle. Now, too, by a strange accident, it is Russia who is pleading for a joint front against nuclear weapons. The total disarmament issue has come up because America objected to nuclear disarmament to be done without reference to other armaments and wanted a balanced advance towards disarmament as a whole. And Russia has accepted that line of approach. But the real road to peace lies in courageously isolating the nuclear issue and dealing with it. A reliance on the suicidal nuclear weapon for the sake of defence, or for a balanced strategy towards peace, is fundamentally erroneous. We cannot rely on suicide to preserve life. It is unpractical as well as illogical.

The able and untiring leader of the Russian people has planned to bring the Paris Summit meeting alive to the U.N. General Assembly. The remarkable way in which this, perhaps the shrewdest man among the present rulers of the world, keeps the initiative in his hands has dismayed the diplomats of the West. But whatever be their appreciation of the Russian leader and their apprehensions about his strategy, his invitation must be accepted. Failure to respond would amount to running away from the battle for peace. The challenge has to be accepted and it should be done in a straightforward manner. The world may stand to gain from this battle for peace that has been, so to say, forced on the West, and the opportunity should not be frittered away.

The more one scans events as they have occurred one after another, the conviction grows deeper and stronger that there is no hope in negotiations for a balanced, safe and fraud-proof scheme of disarmament, such as scientific planning demands. There is danger in every arrangement, because the geography and the population of this planet as they have grown cannot be altered to suit our planning. The only way and the only hope is in unilateral courage, in a resolution to put faith in God and in right action, and acting on that strength without reference to what the other party may do guided by Satan. This is unilateral action in Christian terms and this is what the real majority in the British Labour Party wants done as far as Britain is concerned. The tussle between the 'official' group and the main body of opinion among the Labour Party members has kept the policy of that party in this respect in an equivocal condition. The party is meeting in its annual conference now, and if again in order to avert a party split, the issue be kept undecided and an ambiguous formula emerges out of the debate, it would be most unfortunate. Supreme courage is called for in order to adopt the policy of unilateral action to do away with nuclear weapons; but Britain has shown such supreme courage on more than one occasion in the history of the world. These weapons are universally accepted to be weapons that cannot be used except when the world had made up its mind to commit suicide. This being so, the only brave and the only sensible thing to do is to make up one's mind to set an example by a unilateral decision to do away with them. Negotiation for a scientifically balanced advance towards the abrogation of these weapons has no chance, judging from what has so far happened. Meanwhile, we are being swiftly taken to the abyss. The Labour Party's decision can save the world by giving a supreme moral inspiration to the rulers of civilized mankind.

Khrushchov has not the courage for unilateral action. His distrust of the Western nations is too deep for it. But he has at least shown the courage for accepting at once a treaty of abrogation of these mass destruction weapons. This is a great step

in itself. Here is an opportunity for those who have been hesitating. To give up the hesitation is itself a form of unilateral action in the present context of affairs. Let us hope that the minds of leaders will receive the inspiration required for this step. The British Labour Party and Mr. Frank Cousins could give this inspiration if the party could forget for a while its party ego.

September 17, 1960 *Swarajya*

DEFICIT FINANCING

Prof. B. R. Shenoy is bringing out for lay readers a booklet on inflation in India, in which he deals with the causes of the evil and the remedy. I have had the privilege of reading the manuscript and this is what I have gathered from what the Professor sets out with clarity and with figures. I have no doubt the booklet, when published, will help people to understand the gravity of the situation. In all low income countries, expansion of money put in circulation results quickly in price rises. Inflation is the word used when we look at the cause and discuss the situation in terms of money. Price rise is the phrase used when we speak from the point of view of commodities. If the expansion of money, whatever be the motive or reason for such expansion, outpaces the physical volume of output of commodities, we have a state of inflation and prices rise as a result.

The Ministry of Commerce publishes the average of wholesale prices. From the hand-outs of the Reserve Bank of India we can obtain information about money supply. There has been a continual rise in the general index of prices. We see also that money supply has considerably expanded, faster than the output of national products.

With 1938-39 as base, the general index of prices in August 1960 was 478, a rise of nearly five times. The present change-over of the base from 1938-39 to 1952-53 obscures the enormous magnitude of the price rise.

Government collects funds from the people by taxation, loan issues, small savings and profits of public sector undertakings.

From these funds disbursements are made for administrative expenditure, repayment of past loans, and Plan investment outlay. When these and other items of disbursements exceed the total receipts, what is called budget deficit arises. These deficits are covered by notes printed at the Government Security Press at Nasik. This is called deficit financing.

This expansion of money is followed by what is called secondary expansion through credits given by commercial banks. For every Rs. 100 crores of additional Nasik money, there is usually another Rs. 100 crores of credit creation.

Inflation that now prevails in India began in 1955-56. Budget deficits rose from 97 crores in 54-55 to 225 crores in 55-56. In 57-58 the Plan outlay was so great that, with additional defence expenditure, the budget deficit that year reached a peak of 495 crores. These yearly deficits have a cumulative action.

The rise in prices due to inflation reduces the value of money and life becomes unhappy for people living on wages and fixed incomes. Their real income is reduced, and some of them would have to draw on past savings for current expenditure.

The rise in price corrodes all savings. This leads in the case of the better placed classes to the transfer of their savings to urban property, to gold and to concealed exports of capital. Speculative transactions acquire additional attraction. Hoarding of goods is encouraged, eating into savings. For a time production may be deceptively stimulated on account of higher prices,

but soon it gets retarded on account of increased costs. Foreign purchasers of our goods will move to other markets. Imported goods rise in price, giving windfall profits to importers and smugglers.

As a result of inflation, income shifts from the masses to upper income groups. The middle classes are most hit. The strike of the Union Government employees was a symptom of this suffering. Industrialists and their labour force, who are able to extract a share in the receipts, do not suffer much but the condition of the vastly larger number of farm lands is worsened.

Inflation must be followed by price controls and import restrictions. These produce a great deal of economic and social disorder and injustice. The controls over steel, coal, cement, sugar, rubber, fertilizers and food-grains have cast a gloom over the life of the people.

Far from equalizing incomes, the policy of controls makes the rich richer. The stagnant per capita consumption of cloth and of food-grains is the best evidence of the condition of the people, and this has resulted from the misguided policies of the present administration. In the case of all imported goods including gold, there is a great gap between landed cost and market price, ranging from 30 per cent to 500 per cent, depending on the nature of the commodity. The difference between the landed cost of gold and the market price is seventy rupees per tola. The import markets are illegal and the gap between cost and market price is officially ignored but this does not nullify the reality. The benefit of all the gaps in cost of imports and market price goes to importers and smugglers. Excluding government imports where the difference may be treated as a concealed tax, according to a reliable estimate, the ill-gotten gains on imports during two years would be of the order of Rs. 1,000 crores. This amount has several co-sharers—corrupt officials who handle the issue of licences, the recipients of the licences, including both those who just sell them in the black market and real importers. The

accounts of cost are falsified by inter-sales and the like, so as to bring the declared cost to near the market price, and so as also to replenish the importers for their payments for the purchase of the licences and for corrupt transactions with officials and go-betweens. All these incomes are tax-free, being illicit in nature. It is these earnings that enable some people to give large political donations to the ruling party and also to other groups for purchasing peace. The beneficiaries of the illegal gain, on account of import controls, are the upper income groups and the money is obtained from those who consume the imported commodities or articles into the production of which such imported materials go. The total anti-social money that goes thus from consumers' pockets to upper income groups has been estimated as being of the order of Rs. 300 crores per year. Inflation, import restrictions and other controls have affected the moral standards of the nation, and have led to the emergence of a new undesirable profession engaged in touting for obtaining licences, permits and contracts, in illicit trafficking in import licences, and in smuggling gold, diamonds, watches, cigarettes, fountain pens, razor blades, photographic accessories, etc. The talent for enterprise tends to gravitate around officialdom and to practices to become rich quickly without spending energy.

In the absence of inflation and controls, the talent and resources would be actively engaged in adding to national wealth under the free play of competition, the normal road to progress. Inflation and controls discourage efficiency and progress and honesty.

Easy money being available to some under controls and inflation, they favour continued 'planning' which to them means continued inflation and controls which provide them opportunities to amass money. Political parties in power also favour controls, as these give an opportunity for the exercise of power and for acquiring personal and political gains. Conscience pricks are quelled by the thought that it is all done in the national interests, and the gains are only an incidental by-product.

Never were the interests of the anti-social elements so well looked after as under the present administration. These controls must go or the Government should change, if the country is to be extricated from the morass it has got stuck in. It is not true, as is argued sometimes, that rising prices and controls and import restrictions and exchange controls are inherent in a developing economy. The experience of other countries—Canada, Belgium, West Germany, Mexico, Japan, Italy and France—have demonstrated the untruth of this plea.

It is not true, as is sometimes stated, that prices all over the world have risen. West German national income rose in real terms at 13 per cent per year in each year of the period 1951 to 1958. But prices rose there by less than one per cent per year, 5 per cent only in all seven years. And West Germany was in the forefront to remove restrictions on imports and on payments abroad. In ever so many countries price stability and surplus in balance of payments, and abolition of restrictions on imports and payments, have gone together with rapid economic growth.

Since 1955, Indian price-rise stands out almost alone. Prices in May 1960 in India were 33 per cent higher than in 1954. In France and Italy prices declined during that period. In Germany, Belgium and Japan and other countries the annual price rise was 1 per cent or at most 2 per cent.

There is a notion that curtailing bank credit will reduce inflation. Bank credit is so closely related to deficit financing that keeping the latter going and reducing inflation by control over credit is a futility. It only adds to the confusion. To restrict credit against food-grains and certain other commodities would raise the cost of banking services generally, and in particular the cost of credit to the trade in those commodities, which are essential for the economic life of the community. Naturally, such policies encourage advances against assets outside the banned list and drive the business of credit from scheduled banks to others which are not under control. The policy of credit con-

trols has demonstrably failed. Tampering with the credit-machinery will not achieve anything as long as deficit financing is continuing.

The fact is that the attempt to 'invest' non-available resources—which is what deficit financing amounts to—is a wrong and futile policy. No plan can be larger than the resources available for investment, be it internal or that obtained from generous outsiders. Even as water is no substitute for milk, inflation is no real resource. The fallacy produces high prices and distress. A plan based on inflation will retard progress instead of accelerating it.

The Third Plan is tremendously inflationary. The overt deficit financing of this Plan is Rs. 550 crores. This is misleading. Without totalitarian and physical suppression of consumption, in order to mop up people's money by reducing consumption, the amount of supposed availability of savings estimated at Rs. 7,200 crores is an over-estimate. The over-estimate is at least of the order of Rs. 1,300 crores.

Thus what the Plan requires by way of foreign aid, (over and above the amount required for repayments due) is not Rs. 2,700 crores but Rs. 5,350 crores. The deficit financing therefore will not be only Rs. 550 crores as planned but six times that figure. If the foreign aid does not arrive according to the time table, whatever the causes may be, the gap will be much greater. And there are good reasons for apprehending this.

We know that deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 367 crores during the five years ending 59-60 led to a price rise of 32 per cent. The deficit financing inherent in the Third Plan will certainly involve 'runaway inflation', like the one that swept over Germany after the first World War. During the five months ending August 1960, prices have been rising at a rate computed at 14.2 per cent per annum. This is an indication to take note of. Deficit financing has already gone too far. Foreign aid and drafts

on currency reserves, cannot go on indefinitely. Holding the price line, which is continually promised, would be just King Canute's command to the waves of the sea.

It is pathetically argued that inflation will be stopped by increase in production. Inflation retards production. It drives up costs and the commodities manufactured must be sold at higher prices. Prices and costs rise simultaneously with inflation, and will continue to rise with continuing inflation. Inflation is the disease and the prices only indicate the temperature. There is no good attempting to reduce the symptom while keeping the disease going. Fair price shops of any kind or number cannot achieve control of prices. Even if buffer stocks released for sale depress food prices artificially, this will shift agriculture to other than food-crops, and render the food position worse. Any commodity distribution at arbitrary prices will fail, because the stocks will be bought up as soon as they are put on the market, and go to feed the black market. The cost of any remedy put in action by way of subsidies will ultimately fall on the shoulders of the tax-payers. The net result, so far as the price level is concerned, will be nil. The price problem resulting from inflation cannot be corrected by a change in the machinery of distribution. The diagnosis must be kept in mind when treatments are attempted. The money let loose being the cause, remedies other than reducing the money flow will not avail.

The favourite notion that prices result from traders' conspiracies is stupid. Such conspiracies are impossible. The prevailing price rise is not the outcome of either monopolies or impossible conspiracies but of deficit financing. Prices have risen despite bumper crops and heavy annual import of food-grains of three million tons for four years.

To stop prices from rising, we must restore the balance between the flow of production and the flow of money. Inflation and excessive State interference are the two evils of the Indian economy of today. If and only when these two evils are removed,

can we expect to be saved from rising prices. If not, it is a case of the ground being prepared for communists to take totalitarian charge.

September 24, 1960 *Swarajya*

WANTED A COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

CHIEF Ministers' Club as Mr. Pothan Joseph would call it, the N.D.C. met at Delhi and has decided in favour of State trading and is resolved on pushing it up, on building up buffer stocks through procurement and on increased controls. God save us from the results of the gigantic folly that has been announced. It is not hoarding that raises prices. It is the policy of ambitious development and issue of money for that purpose that have raised and will continue to raise prices.

It is a moot question, which is worse for the people—the normal tyranny of big commercial bosses or the creation of business for the favourites of the ruling party? State trading and controls create monopolies for those favoured individuals who help the Congress Party to win at elections, and who promise to continue to do so. Such monopolies as are in fact acquired by big commercial concerns are the result of successful business enterprise, and their proved capacity to survive competition after paying all taxes and official and unofficial levies. The monopolies created for favoured individuals by the ruling party are worse and certainly undeserved. The monopolies created by government controls and State trading are mainly motivated by politics and not based on appraisal of service or merit. A competent and energetic commission can, if empowered to obtain evidence from unwilling witnesses, bring to public notice the number of nobodies who have become rich under tri-colour patronage, within a short

period of ten or even five years. A President's Commission, entrusted with full powers, as a Royal Commission in England would be, can discover and lay bare the means by which nobodies have become very rich after a short enjoyment of the benefits of government controls and licences, as well as the amounts collected and underwritten for the party chest by businessmen, holders of bus permits, and all the people coming under income-tax and sales-tax officials, and generally bring to greater public light the manner and magnitude in which the ministers and others have used their positions of authority for filling the ruling party's party chest.

Nothing less than a commission of this sort will open the eyes of the public to the disgraceful things going on. It is true that the very fact that the Congress Party alone objected to the proposed ban on donations by companies to political parties is enough circumstantial proof of the case. It is a fact that the Congress Party has admitted by its conduct, and its negative reaction to my two challenges, that this once great and patriotic group of men and women now relies on money secured through its position as ruling party and on the power it wields through ministers and subservient officials for success in its ambition to continue for all time in power. But in order to bring all the facts in detail to public notice, and in order that this abuse may be put an end to, a regular official commission of enquiry would be the best instrument, provided it is manned by upright and independent men who will seek truth without fear or favour. There are people of that quality available if Parliament could make up its mind to accept the challenge in a straightforward way. But here as in so many other matters we are in a vicious circle. The present majority will not make up its mind to commit suicide. An enquiry such as I suggest would mean suicide.

September 24, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE AYUB - NEHRU MEET

WHAT makes negotiations pointless and futile today is that leaders of democracies and dictators depending on popular support make public statements committing themselves before proceeding to the meetings where they are supposed to engage themselves in a process of giving and taking. The leaders, in order to assure themselves of a continued lease of popularity and power, make these statements that they will never give up this and never, never take that. This makes all talk at the negotiations purposeless.

This is the weakness of democratic 'summits'. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is going to meet General Ayub Khan at Karachi. Everyone in India and everyone in Pakistan is praying for a successful meeting. Everyone would accept whatever conclusions are reached, provided it meant the end of the wasteful quarrel that is eating into the vitals of the two peoples. But, alas, the previous declarations made before going to the meeting make anything useful almost impossible. The old despots, the rulers of the past age, could fight as well as come to terms. But the rulers of today make themselves incapable of coming to terms once they have begun to fight. Truly democracy has its disadvantages, that is, if the leaders suffer from the craving for popularity and power.

September 24, 1960 *Swarajya*

TRIBAL CONFLICTS ?

There is an inescapable contradiction between attention to education and culture, and the fall in bodily vigour and valour that attends it. An interesting and forthright criticism of affairs and men in Congo appears in *The New Leader* written by Sal Tas. Apart from his opinions on the problems of Congo, the observations made by him have a strange and unintended relevancy for our own affairs in India.

"The Lulua, the most numerous tribe of the Kasai, is afraid of being dominated by the educated, more energetic Balba tribe. The Lulua tribe, however, has the better warriors and hence the horrible struggle in the villages."

This complex of fear in the larger tribe, of the better education and intellectual energy of a smaller tribe, leading to sectional animosity, has an easily recognizable counterpart in Indian political life. As culture and education progress, the contradiction between this and the physical vigour, and the inferiority complex of those who lag behind in education, proceed from each community down to the next. Sal Tas's observation bears a very great relevancy and resemblance to the communal conflicts all over India, more definitely recognized in the South where there is (or at least it is generally supposed there is) a large admixture of races that happened in pre-historic times and which has left its marks in the features and complexions of men.

A dangerous nearness of quality may be observed between the tribal warfare in 'free' Congo as analysed by Sal Tas and the communalism which is the bane of political life in India. Nothing is so important or useful as an honest and courageous appraisal and acceptance of communal feeling where it exists. It should be taken into account and not ignored. The acceptance of an unpleasant fact is infinitely more useful than platitudinous

negation. Caste consciousness is a reality, and reality is to be remedied by reality and not by platitude. Tuberculosis cannot be cured by the wishful negation of it by patient or doctor.

"The fight for power has always resulted in tribal warfare," says this writer in *The New Leader*. How true it would be to say a similar thing about political rivalries in India! Yet we dare not say it or diagnose it courageously. When a move was started to reorganize the States, and replace the old provincial boundaries by new boundaries on the basis of languages, I said it was a tribal idea. My statement was hotly objected to. My characterizing the demand as tribal was resented. But we now see clearly how the linguistic cloak only covers tribal animosities and desire to oppress. A doctor who is afraid to diagnose is not likely to succeed in curing the patient.

"The Congo parties are basically tribal groups organized along modern lines." This analysis of Sal Tas of the unfortunate African situation we here understand, in Madras or Andhra or Bihar or the Punjab or elsewhere much more easily than the people in Britain or America. The rivalry for power results in tribal rivalry and conflicts, and these are put in the framework of democratic struggle. Things are so much the same in our politics here that we wonder if anything else is possible anywhere in the world.

Adverting from tribes to individuals and personal ambitions, Sal Tas says: "Lumumba is not a communist. He is a Lumumba-ist." Even this is not without its lessons for us. Many of our foremost 'leaders' are exactly this kind of 'socialist' or other 'ist. '*Our* socialism', '*our* variety of democracy', '*my* Gandhism'—we constantly hear these and other phrases of qualified ideologies. It all means 'my-ism' and nothing else, a conscious or unconscious, violent or moderate lust for power.

Nothing happens anywhere in the world, no misfortune, but has a lesson for us, if only we are humble, observant and wise.

Without humility there can be no wisdom ; and without wisdom, no man or nation can thrive. We should be ever on the *qui vive* against the baser strands in human personality.

October 1, 1960 *Swarajya*

RESTRICTION ON CREDIT

THE structure of future progress, based on the two pillars of unsupportably huge borrowings and present inflation fast growing to an intolerable pitch, is sure to tumble down. The call to hold the price line, in spite of inflation arising out of policies to which the ruling party clings, is meaningless. The Government wants bank credit to be curtailed, thereby making expansion impossible. Without business and industrial expansion, no progress is possible. Probably the idea is that all capital must come out of what the Government proposes to make out of taxes and levies, and it must all be put into its own ill-managed business and no money should be available for the expansion of the private sector. Private industry cannot grow or live under these restrictions on credit. An eminent friend who is competent to judge such matters writes :

> I feel very sad at the way the Indian economy is being led by the present administration The consequences of their actions and policies are the exact opposite, in most cases, of the intentions. If the Indian economy is not rescued from inflation, controls and State-ism, lasting economic and social progress is just not possible. On the other hand, their combined effect may be to take us along the road that China went. It is a great pity that our policy makers in India refuse to see this.

The ruling party seems pathetically to stick to the notion that prices rise by reason of conspiracies among businessmen. Malaria shows its head not by reason of a conspiracy between

doctors and patients but by the mosquitoes carrying the poison. It is the curtain that keeps them away and the steps taken to reduce their breeding, that will reduce malaria, not the smashing of thermometers or an order to prohibit their use. It is wrong budgeting, and huge deficits worked out by the printing of currency at Nasik that raise the prices. 'Holding' it by force cannot cope with it, but will be suicidal. The perspiration that seeks to ease the fever corresponds to the rise in prices. The perspiration is not the disease. It is an attempt by the law of economics to restore the imbalance as once the London *Economist* wrote. The doctor's work is to remove the cause of the fever, not obstruct nature's reaction, however inconvenient it may be for the time being.

Where government creates inflation through expansion of currency to make up for deficit financing, bank credit follows as an inevitable concommitant. The colt runs along with its mother. We cannot drive the latter forward without expecting the former, its offspring, to run with it. Even if the most patriotic of men cause inflation, it must result in the shooting up of prices. There is a proverb in Tamil that even if the gods eat it, *neem* is bitter. It cannot change *its* nature because those that eat it are good souls.

Bank credit is an integral part in the machinery of production and to hope to set things right by stopping, or impeding it is an utter error of policy. Compelling necessity will drive people to worse sources of credit than scheduled banks, and where there is no compelling necessity, expansion stops, to the prejudice of progress, the will-o'-the-wisp that takes Mr. Nehru in this direction. All hopes of expansion of industry and reduction of unemployment would have to depend on the broken reed of the 'public sector'. No wonder that the friend from whose letter an extract has been given a little earlier, writes in a tone of extreme pessimism.

October 1, 1960 *Swarajya*

WESTERN PRECEDENTS

JOHN Stuart Mill wrote in his book on Representative Government :

> (Good government in India can be attained through) far wider political conceptions than merely English or European practice can supply, and through a much more profound study of Indian experience and of the conditions of Indian government, than either English politicians or those who supply the English public with opinions have hitherto shown any willingness to undertake

These words were written long ago when British statesmen were considering reforms. But the truth seen by the insight of great men, like John Stuart Mill, was not only for the occasion they wrote for, but valid for all time. We have seen the working of the ballot box in India. A vested interest has grown for the ruling party in the ballot box and in the servility of people which can be exploited through the tentacles of the 'welfare State'. The conditions of government now brought into existence, viz., all-embracing controls and regulations of all kinds over the business community, and the issue of subsidies of all kinds to influential groups in the rural area, make the ballot box together with general ignorance and cupidity into a vicious and gigantic vested interest for the Congress Party. Once put in power, the economic controls, licences and monopolies, which it has in its power to give and take away, furnish it with the means of perpetuation for all time. The party collects funds from the big companies that are under its power, and make any opposition practically impossible. When this is pointed out by those interested in creating an Opposition party against this Leviathan, it is made into an argument in its own favour. "Ha ! See they confess they can never win. Therefore, vote for us who will surely be the winning party." Wrong-doing cannot, however, go on for ever. Nemesis is awaiting. There is a natural law that brings Evil's downfall by its own weight. It is this that led the

Congress, in spite of the glaring immorality of the Opposition, to oppose the amendment to prohibit company funds being donated to it by managements depending on the favours and the goodwill of the Government. It is the same evil genius that leads them to say that they will not allow a care-taker government to rule during election. "There is no precedent for this in Western democracies," they say. There is no precedent for all that the Congress Party is doing to perpetuate its own power through the opportunities enjoyed when holding office, particularly through the Planning programme which gives it a long-term mortgage over the will of the voters. "We must have the money; we must have government in our hands; otherwise how can we win?" ask the Congress bosses. And there are people who still think the Congress is the only party that can rule, though this belief is growing less and less every day.

October 1, 1960 *Swarajya*

A VOTARY OF TRUTH

Mahatma Gandhi was a votary of Truth and non-violence. Truth and non-violence combined make what is called in our scriptures *satya-dharma*. Gandhiji was truly a *satya-dharma Parakramah*.

There is a fascinating verse in Valmiki's *Ramayana* which, although in the context it is only conversation of a matter-of-fact type, has a remarkable fragrance of philosophy. Visvamitra and the princes of Ayodhya reached the river Sona, on their way to Mithila. In answer to a query of Rama as to how they were to ford the stream, the Rshi said :

एष पन्था मयोद्दिष्टो येन यान्ति महर्षयः ।

The fascination of this verse arises out of its close resemblance to the famous Upanishad mantra from which the motto of the Union of India has been taken :

सत्यमेव जयते नानृतं
सत्येन पन्था विततो देवयानः ।
येनाक्रमयन्त्यृषयो ह्याप्तकामा
यत्र तत् सत्यस्य परमं निधानम् ॥

The path that the Rshis, undisturbed by unrealized desires, take, the bright path that leads to the supreme abode of Reality, that path is paved with Truth ; Victory is for Truth ever, never for un-Truth.

Truth is the means to reach the supreme goal. Anything that is not True cannot take one to it.

It is the sure road the Seers have always taken. Let us take the road where the Maharshis go, said Visvamitra to the princes. And so says the *Mundakopanishad* Rshi to us all.

The quest for Truth in the material or phenomenal world is what science pursues. Modern methods of science strictly fulfil the Rshi's injunction. Without pride, without bias created by unfulfilled ambitions which lead to error, with concern only for truth, and adopting ways strictly in accordance with truth, science unravels the mysteries of nature and is fully rewarded.

The quest for Truth in the non-material world is different from the scientific quest. Here we face the unknowable and not merely the unknown as in science. What the approach should be is indicated in a verse in the *Isa* Upanishad which is as beautiful as it is profound.

हिरण्मयेन पात्रेण सत्यस्यापिहितं मुखम् ।
तत्त्वं पूषन्नपावृणु सत्यधर्माय दृष्टये ॥

> O, Pushan, open for me the golden urn and disclose the Truth that is encased in it, the Truth that is also Dharma.

This attitude of humility and prayer is necessary for obtaining the vision of Truth that we seek in this field of eternal mystery beyond science. To be blessed with a glimpse of the supreme Reality behind everything, one must live a pure life in thought, word and action, restraining sensuous desires until one is free from even the thought of them. No unfulfilled desire should disturb his mind. It should be *aaptakaamaah.*

सत्येन लभ्यस्तपसा ह्येष आत्मा
सम्यग्ज्ञानेन ब्रह्मचर्येण नित्यम् ।
* * *
यं पश्यन्ति यतयः क्षीणदोषाः ॥

The superficial thinker may wonder what need there is for truth and penance, and freedom from desire in order to see what must be seen. But the good and the godly man free from every sin, he only, not the professor of logic or philosophy or grammar or literature, can obtain the vision. He must be free from desires unfulfilled, *aaptakaamaah.* Not merely should he discard objects of sensuous enjoyment, but he must be free from the memory of their taste and the thought of them. This total freedom from sin comes only when the mind is directed towards the Supreme Being.

विषया विनिवर्तन्ते निराहारस्य देहिनः ।
रसवर्जं रसोऽप्यस्य परं दृष्ट्वा निवर्तते ॥

Paramdrshtvaa, turning the inner eye to the Supreme, not otherwise.

October 2 and January 30 cannot be better observed than by a re-dedication to Truth and non-violence to the extent we are, each one of us, capable of and by a prayer for increased strength

of heart in order to be more and more devoted to that ideal. There may be external rituals of homage to Gandhiji, but they must be accompanied by dedication to *satya-dharma,* and a prayerful mind behind it.

October 2, 1960 *The Hindustan Times*

STATE ASSITANCE FOR THE BACKWARD

THERE is a problem in our public affairs which is almost interminable—that of the community as a whole acting through the State helping the backward elements to rise to a better life in material terms and to a higher level of culture. We seek to do away with all caste divisions but all statutory and other concessions, given for the uplift of the backward elements, are prescribed on the basis of caste, although castes and sub-castes are branded as wicked and stand abolished in the national ideology. Caste was and still continues to be deemed as the best means of identifying the beneficiaries and distributing the concessions. It has, however, been increasingly felt that this is a basically erroneous procedure, being in conflict with the no-caste ideology of the nation. It is seen more and more clearly that it creates a vested interest in backwardness and in belonging to a particular caste. It is easily exploited to the advantage of a few individuals 'belonging' to a 'backward' caste, these beneficiaries themselves being in no sense backward. Not only does the community remain backward, notwithstanding the concessions and assistance given by the State, but the benefiting individuals insist on classifying the community as backward and therefore interested in keeping it as backward. This is in increasing measure recognized by the general body of even those castes. They themselves have often protested against exploitation by favoured individuals of the assistance given to the community or sub-community concerned.

The question, therefore, must soon be tackled boldly whether the caste-wise approach should not be given up and a secular economical test substituted for all the State assistance and concessions to be given for the uplift of the backward. A definition based on economic condition would prevent exploitation and be capable of more general application, so as to avoid the charge that these uplift concessions are fundamentally discriminatory, and by such discrimination creating new classes of under-privileged people, while not helping the old backward classes. The whole question should be examined in the dry light of justice and reasonableness, and a formula arrived at which would decide who needs help and what concessions should be given to him to do him justice. The formula must necessarily be in individual economic terms and not one based on locality or community. Locality and community combined may be a convenient basis for *enquiry*, but should not itself be the final grounds for *classification*.

The terms privileged and under-privileged are sometimes used in connection with the need for State assistance. Privilege —or the opposite of it, disability— applies to a condition determined by worldly possessions or caste conventions conferring material advantages or imposing disabilities. There is in India no question now of any legal status associated with caste. If any advantage or disability existed once upon a time, based on caste, it no longer exists. What exists is poverty in varying degrees. This is a condition demanding attention wherever it exists, that is to say, whatever caste the individual belongs to. Otherwise, if the individual should be benefited by a subsidy or a concession on account of his caste, it becomes a new privilege which it is not good policy to create or perpetuate. There should be no slackening or reduction of assistance to individuals deserving it. But it should not be done by reference to the caste to which the individual belongs.

At the base of any programme of helping the backward, education must play the largest part. Boys and girls falling within

the economic definition arrived at must be given education in schools organized for them, wherein all the facilities decided upon may be given to all the pupils without reference to castes or sub-castes for the purpose of giving such help, and without perpetuating a classification which we want to be forgotten. It would thus be all reduced to financial terms and be part of general financial policy instead of a kind of communal discrimination for purposes of uplift. We will have to allot funds for institutions in which there would be no charge for tuition or board for poor and deserving pupils. The present scheme of concessions has gone so far to perpetuate caste that Christians and Muslims classify themselves under their Indian caste names of origin, although when adopting these faiths the intention was to wipe out all forms of untouchability or isolation, and to forget it. The very agents who brought about the conversion to Islam or Christianity, plead for recognition of their 'Harijan' status in order to obtain the government concessions for their proteges.

The 'neo-Buddhists' is a name given to the Harijans who adopted the Buddhist faith under the inspiration of the late Dr. Ambedkar. There is a news item confirming the benefit of the Harijan concessions to them on the basis of caste, in spite of their adopting Buddhism. Caste pursues them under orders of government whatever name they give to themselves or to their religious faith. Those who value their casteless faith should consider whether claiming these concessions based on caste is good for them and their faith, or whether it is attractive but deadly poison.

A simple economic basis unconnected with caste should be substituted for the caste basis on which the concessions are now given. It would stop the competition for backwardness and the increasing jealousies between community and community arising out of the grant of these concessions to some and refusal to others, although the individuals concerned are equally in need of them.

October 8, 1960 *Swarajya*

MEANS CAN KILL ENDS

THE welfare of the people which rests not in the acquisition of material possessions but in the mental satisfaction of a happy life and good government, which is the object of all politics—these are *aims* to be reached. Democracy and socialism and parliaments are all *means* to achieve these two ends. But we are apt to make these means themselves into idols, thereby turning the means into *hindrances*, instead of being aids to reach the goal. "Anything, even down to 'good works' and 'service' can become an idol, if it is for a moment allowed to assert its own independence of the principle and thus enter into rivalry with it," to quote from a recent book of Marco Pallis on Tibet and Tibetan religion.

If we find elections mounting to be an insupportable expense, and a continuous source of corruption, we must not imagine that elections themselves are an end and agree to the waste and corruption involved. If we find that party government is incompatible with good government, we must either find means to rectifying it or even ending it, if we cannot rectify it. Anything that blindly converts means into ends is idolatry, and we cannot thrive on idolatry. When a calf was suffering intense pain and many of Gandhiji's Ashram friends did not know what to do, he told them that non-violence did not consist in letting an animal suffer pain, and allowed it to be relieved by putting it to death. Gandhiji saw that even non-violence could become violence if made into idolatry.

Peace and peaceful co-existence are the aims of the United Nations organization. But we know that blocs form themselves in it and bitter conflicts are waged in that forum. The overall aims should not be forgotten. It is possible to keep out China and carry on condemning China *ex parte*. It is possible to conduct

affairs in such a way as to pass majority resolutions against one Power or another in this world assembly. But it should be remembered that extreme action in this direction will defeat the purpose and fundamental aim of the world organization, viz., to keep the warring blocs in the organization and keep them from going too far apart and drift into the state they were in before the formation of the U.N. Belligerent procedure will convert the U.N. into a different kind of body without any chance of success in the fundamental task for which it came into being. It would convert the U.N. into an Alliance against one bloc or another. This would be true in either event—the Soviet and her friends defeating the others or the U.S. and her friends defeating Mr. Khrushchov. A voting success is, paradoxically, a sure defeat for the U.N., because it would quickly lead to its journey to liquidation.

The veto in the Security Council was a mechanism to prevent this catastrophe. The principle, which it is necessary to observe in order to keep the Security Council from voting itself out of existence, is a necessary principle to remember in connection also with the General Assembly. Things can easily be taken too far so as to convert this world organ into a partisan organization and thereby kill its real entity. It should not be forgotten that this world organization has as yet no power behind it, except through remaining together. It is an inherent condition of its existence and growth that there should be no violent parliamentary defeats inflicted therein, on one side or the other. It would be tantamount to suicide, to so conduct affairs on the strength of votes as to lead to the withdrawal either of Russia or of the U.S.A. It is bad enough to keep China out. It would be death to bring matters to such a pitch as to drive out any of the Big Powers now in it.

October 8, 1960 *Swarajya*

TEACHING OF RELIGION IN SCHOOLS

"THE system of schooling that has been in vogue in all Indian territories since its first introduction by the British reflects in its every method the materialistic outlook of its nineteenth century originators. This affects not only the way in which every subject is envisaged, regardless of any possible connection with principles of a spiritual order, but also it affects no less the imponderables, the background, which will in the long run condition the results of the education received ever more than what is expressly taught. It is idle to aim at material benefits apart from the spiritual, for without the latter to give form and direction and meaning, there can be no true happiness and no contentment and no prosperity and no culture."

These words are taken from Marco Pallis's chapter on Sikkim in his book on Tibet and Tibet's religion.* One has only to compare impartially, he says, the state of mind and the quality of living of the average peasant in an oriental country, "despite the comparative fewness of his worldly goods, with the alteration of harassment and boredom and the consequent frantic pursuit of happiness such as passes for life in so much of modern Europe and America, and that in spite of, rather should one have said because of, the quality and bewildering variety of material possessions which that life demands— one has only to compare them in order to judge which of the two states of mind is the more fortunate. It is the awareness of the spiritual order and attention, be it even with a little accompanying superstition, to its claims which in the one case has remained in the forefront and has been allowed to lapse in the other, this it is which has made the difference." Knowledge as well as material possessions can

* *The Way and the Mountain* by Marco Pallis. Peter Owen, London 1960

be obtained as a result of secular education. But in order that these may be applied in the right way for right purposes, we require equipment at an early period of life in the spiritual field.

The reform pleaded for is not to introduce eclecticism. The integral tradition of each great religion should be incorporated in the schooling of the children belonging by parentage to that religion. "A patchwork of beautiful citations drawn from all manner of traditional sources but so selected as to agree with the opinions, not to say the prejudices, of a particular author will no more constitute a perennial philosophy than an assemblage of the most expressive words out of half a dozen languages will add up to a super-language combining all their best qualities minus the drawbacks. The impotence of the eclectic approach to any subject springs from the fact that every form, to be such, needs imply an exclusive as well as an inclusive aspect, the two jointly serving to express the limits that define the form in question."

Let us remember that Mahatma Gandhi "never ceased to preach and exemplify the doctrine that no kind of activity, even political, can for a moment be divorced from fatih in God and self-dedication in His service, a view which, more than all else, earned for him the hatred of the 'progressives' of every hue, who were not slow in applying to him the epithets of 'mediaeval', 'traditional', and 'reactionary'." These words about Gandhiji are also taken from Marco Pallis's book. There is in the book a great deal of matter relating to rituals and doctrine, and much of it is too metaphysical for the ordinary reader. But what can be understood is elevating and of great value. This book is the product of deep devotion and close study on the background of a very wide knowledge of the doctrines of all the principal religions of the world.

October 8, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE ANTI-PROFIT SLOGAN

The fashion in politics is to attack profits. The attack is twofold, one form of attack is nationalization, another is excessive taxation on profits arising out of business.

While everyone is speaking about profits and its sinful nature, nothing is spoken about losses. There are losses as well as profits when one ventures to produce or distribute at one's own risk. Losses are met out of profits gained. The Government levies taxes and yet more taxes. But what about the losses? If we abolish profits one way or another, by legislation, nationalization or taxation, what we shall have is loss only. And this will be borne by the nation right enough, in spite of the politicians trying to conceal it, because when industry suffers, the nation suffers.

The payment of losses is one of the many functions of profit. We have seen this system in concrete form in the fact that businessmen deliberately buy losing concerns to total up in their favour in income-tax assessment. But apart from motive, losses in the business of production or distribution, are inevitable at some points, and these must be made up by profits at other points. Without such an arrangement, production and business must shrink to the detriment of the general welfare. If, by any means, by legislation or excessive taxation, we abolish profit or reduce it beyond the limits of tolerance, much essential production or distribution will go out of commission and national welfare will suffer.

The profit system, again, is the only machinery for ensuring economy, and good management in production or in distribution. To make the production and distribution of any commodity as economical as possible, which is a very proper object in the interest of the general wellbeing, the only way is to put the consumer's check on the producers or distributors. And this is done

only by leaving it to the latter and to the competition among them to make profit if they can, and bear the losses if they make losses. If the profit system is given up and substituted by what is known as the public sector, with it goes the fear of losses, and the restraint that is economy. Expenses go up, vigilance goes down, and we have what we see in government-managed production, transport or trade.

Again, all capital is provided out of profits made by previous business. Capital formation is hit by the attack on profits. Is it good for the nation to let the economy grow stagnant, which is the sure result of making profit impossible or inadequate? Anyone conversant with affairs knows that if the national income is so distributed that no one gets anywhere above the average—which is the goal of the egalitarian—and the nation happens to be a poor one as we are, there will be no capital formation, either private or public. It would approximate the fate of a peasant population which eats up all the harvest and lays by no seed-grain.

All human endeavour in the business of production or distribution involves wear and tear. If these are not to be repaired and made up for through profits, or if there is no adequate provision made for it when confiscating the profits by taxation, the harmful effect on production and distribution will not take long to be perceived.

Profits are the source of inspiration as well as the resource fund for all new adventures in human effort. Supply must often come before demand. Many new productions and improvements create the taste and the demand for them in the consumer world and later they become essential. And these new lines of production arise out of the profits that are allowed to remain over in the hands of the men with talent for enterprise, invention and production. All that we now see, admire and enjoy, and take for granted, have been produced by men of talent who could take risks, because of the profits that arose out of previous lines

of production. If governments had started the present practice of over-taxation some decades ago, it would have been impossible for us to have what we have; no experiments and no taking of risks would have been possible. However eminent and technologically well-equipped governments, cabinets and officials may be—and this is only an academical supposition in our case—they cannot do what the manufacturer would be able to do if he be given a free field and fair chance to make profit or lose at his own risk. It is inconceivable that bureaucratic management could ever devise improvements, not to speak of making inventions.

The consumer will have no freedom of choice if producers, producing at their own risk, disappear and consumers have to buy only from the State or from its licensee. Competition and the profit and loss system are essentially a consumer's system. Nationalized production and distribution mean a system where there is no economy, no efficiency, no expedition and where the consumer will be at the mercy of the State.

Last, not least, we have already experienced that heavy taxation has brought down all charities and endowments and benefactions. As the attack on profit gathers more and more momentum under 'socialist' pressure, the finest element in human life, viz., the altruistic urges, will disappear at an increasing pace. Everyone will live for himself and the behests of all the religions of the world to make one's own happiness truer and greater by making others happy will be forgotten by disuetude.

[After the above was written, at the Labour Party's Conference at Scarborough on Oct. 6, it was found that in spite of Mr. Gaitskell's defeat on the nuclear issue, wherein he lost to those who stood for total renunciation of the A and H bombs, the party was decidedly against the dogma of nationalization and gave a victory to Mr. Gaitskell who stood for giving up the dogma and for watering nationalization down to a pragmatic approach.]

October 15, 1960 *Swarajya*

CONTROLLED DISARMAMENT

It is true, as Prime Minister Nehru said in the U.N. Assembly, that disarmament without controls is not feasible, and controls without disarmament will have no meaning. Disarmament and the machinery of control must therefore go together, he said. This conclusion if precisely understood is quite correct, but as it is generally understood, it would simply mean that nothing can be done about it.

The process of disarming and the process of controlling must no doubt go on together, and side by side. But the firm *agreement* about disarmament must precede the investigation into what the machinery of controls must be. This is what, as I apprehend the position, Mr. Khrushchov has been saying, and he is not wrong. He does not ask that the process of disarmament should be completed before agreement is reached on the machinery of controls. What he rightly objects to is to give priority to the investigation and negotiation of the system of controls, without the parties having firmly decided on disarmament and assured each other about it. What he does not believe in is the evolution of a negotiated system of controls as a condition precedent for giving one's word about disarmament. Sacrifices may be made and risks may be taken by nations for the big cause, if once disarmament is firmly decided upon and agreed to; whereas no nation would give up its suspicions and fears about various items in the control machinery if it is discussed *in vacuo*.

If disarmament is essential to save the world as it is now universally recognized, this must be agreed to definitely and then a great many things can be given or taken when negotiating the system of controls. The reverse would be barren. It is not even a logical procedure. It cannot be expected that nations would

agree to let controls begin without disarmament being completely assured, as it would only amount, as Mr. Khrushchov caricatured it, to legalized spying in an intensive degree.

A decision on disarmament is, therefore, a primary requisite and incentive for progress to be made in the direction of international peace. If this does not appeal and the West demands that a fraud-proof and a completely riskless machinery for controls should be evolved by agreement—for it cannot be evolved otherwise—before the West can agree to a solemn treaty for complete disarmament, then the prospect is indeed devoid of hope.

The objection to nuclear disarmament was (originally) only that conventional arms must also be brought into the scheme of disarmament in order that the West may not be in a position of inferiority. Now that Russia has agreed to disarmament, inclusive of non-nuclear weapons, and has also agreed to controls, the argument turns round the machinery of control and on priority of decisions on that head. This looks an unending tussle.

The more one looks at this sorry debate, the more clearly one sees that the way lies not in negotiations between so-called experts in war or between diplomats, or even in majority votes in world assemblies, but only in the moral field—in unilateral courage to take the first step in excluding the operation of mass destruction weapons from warfare, come what may from the other side. We cannot get away from the law of nature that suspicion cannot be eliminated by discussion, but only by a courageous unilateral gesture of trust on one side or the other. As long as this is not done, but national representatives continue to indulge in mutual recriminations, the world is being taken by the non-stop race in armaments nearer and nearer to the abyss. The resources of the world are being thrown into the drain never to be recovered, and peace and happiness and sense of security driven faster and farther away from life in this world.

Contemplating all these difficult aspects of the problem, one is driven to think that there is more hope in the seemingly very

unedifying schisms in British Labour circles, where unilateralism of action is seriously discussed. Notwithstanding the entanglements of the leadership of the party, it may be that paradoxically the way may be shown by hard-headed Britain where other more idealistic nations have failed to rid themselves of distrust and fear.—*The Manchester Guardian.*

[After the above was written and before it was printed, the British Labour Party at its annual conference held at Scarborough on October 5 voted for unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons, defeating official opposition. The Amalgamated Engineers' resolution demanding unilateral renunciation of the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and basing of all nuclear weapons in Britain and the Transport Workers' resolution rejecting any defence policy based on the threat of the use of nuclear weapons were both carried. Two resolutions asking the conference to endorse loyalty to NATO based on the American deterrent were defeated.]

October 15, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE ABDICATION OF INTELLECT

Mr. Khrushchov told me when he was in Madras some years ago that he thought that American economy would be upset if the nuclear armaments race were ended, and that this was one of the big secret obstacles in the way of a treaty of cessation. I did not believe him. But in a recent issue of a journal of the Foundation for Economic Education of New York, Editor Lipscomb writes : "A second reason (for concern) is one we do not much hear about. It is the extent of our vested interest in a high level of international tension and in the waste and extravagance that accompany it. The hundreds of thousands of offi-

cials and clerks required to give away billions of dollars, prepare multitudinous programmes and operate all manner of red tape in the name of defence. In a wholly relaxed atmosphere, what would happen to this most extensive peace-time fighting establishment we have ever sought to maintain? Half the federal budget, more than half our federal employees, would no longer be justified. Think of industry, the contracts for air-planes, missile parts, guns and equipment, the contracts for military constructions, housing units, and a multi-billion dollar highway system promoted in the name of defence mobility, the contracts for building ships and submarines. The tremendous vested interest of the influential and important American groups in the maintenance of international tension—and the part which the interest plays in giving our economy a hue of rosiness—is a second reason for concern on the domestic front".

The first 'reason for concern' may also be of some interest on account of a certain parallelism in our affairs. "The trend towards national insolvency, towards destruction of personal incentive, towards socialization and regimentation—this is a major reason for serious, even desperate concern over our home-front war for survival."

A third matter which the writer calls a 'tremendously significant one' has also a very striking parallel in our own affairs: "If you will look around, you will find that practically everybody is opposed to national insolvency, to destruction of incentive, and to the domination of the State in private and economic life. You will find that most people are opposed to pre-emptive Statism. At least they will say they are and the chances are that they really are—except the part that applies in each case to one's own community or puts a little temporary extra money into one's personal pocket".

What the writer considers to be the worst of all the serious dangers to national strength, is the absence of sincere, honest, wholehearted support for the principles and practical policies

that need to be followed, but for selfish reasons are not so followed, and the manner in which some private personal advantage stands in the way of this support. "You cannot convince your neighbour that you are opposed to Statism if you support resolutions calling for federal funds for local projects, or make him think you believe in individual freedom, if you expect Washington to underwrite, directly or indirectly, your personal or business risks."

All these things that this American writer deplores apply with very little modification to the state of things in India. The last point he refers to, the sad contradiction between conviction and unreadiness to stand up for it, is of course worse in India than in America. It is worse not only because the State's interference in business and industry is worse here, but also because of the mass hypnosis brought about by the unquestioned rule of one party ever since Independence. The greatest accompanying evil of long and unquestioned leadership in modern times is the abdication of intellect to fashion. Statism and the so-called socialism behind it have become the fashion in political thought. Fashion is another form of fascist authoritarianism, the intellectual and the most pernicious form. The reasonable scepticism that is a necessary qualification in the citizens for successful democracy is sapped out by habitual homage paid for past services.

October 15, 1960 *Swarajya*

COMMUNAL CHARITIES

THE attachments to which men are prone by nature should be treated as facts and not ignored. No policies founded on ignorance or on inadvertence to facts can be good, or even if well-intentioned, be effective. This proposition would be platitudi-

nous but for the fact that there is a great deal hanging on it and far too much harm is being caused by the ignoring of it.

The attachment of men and women to their families, to their caste or their community, to their language, or to their territorial slice of India cannot be ignored when any policy is conceived or put into action without incurring the danger of the policy being wrong, ineffective or oppressive. It is far too thoughtlessly decided that such attachments are unpatriotic or harmful to progress and general welfare.

While we may rightly aim at a more complete unification of the nation, it is neither useful nor logical to ignore facts and to frame attitudes and policies on the presumption that such attachments are always wrong and must be countered. Facts should be treated as friends as we must treat men, and not as enemies. We should discover the good in them and not antagonize them, so to say, by seeing nothing but evil in them. Such an approach would be anti-social when it is taken towards men. It is no less erroneous when we adopt such an approach to undoubted facts of wide application and importance. It is a fallacious approach to ignore men's attachments to their communal or territorial affiliations, however firmly we may hold that such attachments should ultimately disappear in favour of a wider patriotism.

Take Gandhiji's appeal to men and women that they should look upon their possessions as a trust. This attitude which Gandhiji appealed to the wealthy to adopt is an essential part of the Swatantra Party's economic doctrine. It is the counterpoise that balances the importance attached by that party to individual freedom. Men look on themselves as trustees for their families. There is no need to appeal to moral principles to get men to behave unselfishly in taking care of their near relatives and dependents. Natural affection takes care of this to a large extent. But natural affection does not end there. In our country people's natural affection goes out to a larger circle called the caste or sub-community to which one belongs by birth. It

extends further, though in a lesser degree, to the wider communal circle to which one belongs outside the small sub-community that claims the person's national affection.

Those who have fought for nationalist aims are prone to ignore these communal or parochial emotions and to oppose them as unadulterated evils. This would be an erroneous attitude. Facts, it may be repeated, should be treated as friends and not enemies. A fact is not wiped out of existence by an opinion, however good or wise. The opinion itself may receive assistance from the good elements in the fact.

We must remember that any extension of love beyond oneself is a good thing and should be welcomed and nursed. If a man looks upon his relatives as entitled to his affectionate care, we should encourage the feeling and not condemn it. Our desire to expand his affection is good, but it cannot succeed by ignoring or opposing his limited unselfish growth outside his ego. On the contrary, we should deal with his limited unselfishness gently, so as to encourage it to extend as far out as possible so as to cover the whole community to which he belongs. This was the usual pattern of old fashioned charities and endowments. As culture progressed, benefactions extended to a larger and larger circle, sometimes reaching up to the borders of the religious denomination to which one belonged or to which one attached himself.

The tendency or fashion of the present times is to look on such benefactions from the outside and to condemn them as 'communal' or narrow-minded. By all means let us extol benefactions to the nation as distinguished from caste or parish, but in our admiration of the larger, let us not discourage or extinguish the smaller.

Every benefaction and extension of affection beyond the ego, every relatively unselfish act is good and must be valued as such. To the extent it goes, it is an act of social value and reduces

the call on the State, which should supply to the wants of the general community by reliance on taxation. If every wealthy person is encouraged to look after the wants of his own community or parish, we shall be achieving a national purpose in the net result. What we should object to is when a person in authority misuses his position for parochial or communal advantage and uses national resources or tax-money for narrow ends. There can be no objection where a man who is in a position to give, gives to men and women of his choice and does not always adopt the national formula. Every unselfish benefactor deserves encouragement. It would be a wise policy if we could exploit all non-egoistic attachments and work out the doctrine of trusteeship and voluntary benefactions by utilising the bonds of attachments that exist between men and the commuities to which they belong. A general theory of trusteeship is good and valid. But limitations were recognized and a commendation was made by Jesus in favour of 'neighbours'. He said: "Love thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." It is true that 'neighbour' means all men. But it does not exclude the people of one's country, or one's caste or one's community. The love that goes out in search of those that need it is good, be it small and confined to the extent it can stretch out or be it as big as the Ganga or the Brahmaputra.

Let us encourage and nurse the doctrine of trusteeship wherever it is in action. Let men found institutions for the benefit of other people, even if they are confined to a particular community or territorial area or a particular language section. They all deserve encouragement. Let us recognize the good in them and not carp at their limitations. Those who administer such foundations will in course of time expand the boundaries of the benefits as we have seen in ever so many cases.

October 22, 1960 *Swarajya*

FEUDS WITHIN THE CONGRESS

THE front page of the newspapers almost daily carries some news of quarrels or compromises, or arbitration efforts, made in the Congress parties in the vaious States. The disease is fairly openly admitted now but, unfortunately for the patients, the diagnostic part of the attention suffers from a desire not to make confessions that will harm the prestige of the organization.

Little real economic or political power, in the true sense, is left now in the State Congress parties or in the State governments. Power is concentrated in the Centre. Everyday we see that Congress ministers fly up to Delhi to get decisions on any matter that counts. It is true that petty patronage, both that which is purely departmental and what is exercised in the commercial, industrial and transport activities within the State, are within the jurisdiction of the ministers and Congress bosses operating in the State. Outside the petty type, little remains in the State as distinguished from Central authority. But these petty opportunities to favour friends count a great deal. This is called 'power' in local political parlance, and the sum total of quarrels and rivalries in this field go by the flamboyant name of power politics. The scope is large enough and highly prized by the semi-educated.

This field of local activity is a comparatively new phenomenon and although founded on illegalities and improprieties has come to be a permanent feature, and the decisive element in political rivalries within the Congress ranks. It is this that is at the root of all the schismatic movements within the Congress Party. The treatment for it would be to remove the bones of contention and cleanse the house.

It is not a question of re-distribution of the power as between the Centre and States, but really a question of high national

importance, whether political party governments functioning in the Centre or in the States should have so much power, as they now enjoy, in the field of trade and industry and whether the community should not have more freedom, leaving the minimum of power in the hands of government.

So great is the power now in the hands of the officials and the ministers and their friends the party managers, and so heavy are the controls, restrictions and entanglements governing trade, transport and industry that almost everyone operating in these fields is at the mercy of political bosses in their daily lives. The conditions have given rise to bitter rivalries among those exercising power, be it petty or major, be it proper and legal or illegitimate.

This is the cause of all the quarrels within the ruling party which have now become so widespread and common. The remedy is reduction of State control and enlargement and restoration of freedom to producers and distributors for which the Swatantra Party stands.

October 22, 1960 *Swarajya*

CONGRESSMEN AND COMMUNISTS

People should not be deceived by the antipathy between congressmen and communists and believe that there is material difference between their policies. Their political policy is the same—socialism—though they fight as tribals do. What we are concerned with are their policies, and where these are not conducive to production and progress, we have to oppose them even though it is congressmen that pursue them. The fact that congressmen carry on a tribal warfare against communists should not mislead us and make us take sides with congressmen and imagine

that we thereby help a national cause. Political battles should not deteriorate into a kind of tribal conflict which is waged irrespective of policy. Congress has become a tribe and fights the Indian Communist Party as an ancient enemy. It has adopted every shibboleth of the communists. Socialism, atheism and class struggle are the basis of communism. These mark out the present Congress also, unless we make personal loyalty to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru a separate pillar and principle. The rivalry may be bitter between the Congress and the Communist Party, but it is only a form of tribal warfare, not a conflict of principles. The subordination of fundamental citizen-rights to government control and the elevation of the State to godhood is the common faith of both the tribes. The economic freedom of the individual suffers at their hands in equal measure. The men who obtain licences and permits may differ if the rulers be congressmen or communists, but the principle of total ownership by the State is common to both. The distribution of patronage may differ but they both agree on the suppression of the individual. That they fight one another is a misleading tribal phenomenon.

October 22, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE MIS-RULING PARTY

The ruling party proposes to levy fresh taxes to the tune of Rs. 1,650 crores for bridging the gap in resources for the Third Plan; and as direct taxes appear to have reached saturation point, it is planned to levy indirect taxes, that is, taxes on commodities. Taxes on the poor always fetch a large return, as the spread of the levy is much larger than any tax on the richer classes. Additional indirect taxes which are contemplated by the ruling party will make the life of the poor unbearable, will retard the expansion of industries, and will probably in the end detrimentally affect the net returns to Government by way of

taxation. It is not possible to choose the commodities on which the taxes may be levied so as to avoid these consequences.

The attempt to find money through indirect taxation will be a failure, leading progressively to retreats from the adventure with attendant loss of prestige. It would be far wiser for the ruling party to prune the Plan, to cut the coat down, instead of planning for a big coat hoping to buy more cloth when it is not available. Completed parts of a coat will not serve the purpose of a full coat. It is good to be wise before the event and revise the plan drastically. This from a most sympathetic angle. But there are other great errors.

The proper policy for our overpopulated continental country is to plan for the maximum utilization of unskilled labour throughout the country rather than to plan for things to be made with the help of machinery which calls for foreign exchange. Such projects should be taken up as will absorb human labour in the highest degree. It is not as if we have done everything that could be done by such labour. What about our roads? What about large scale housing for the masses? What about the numerous small water courses throughout the land, what about fairly pure water supply in the rural area? The list can be expanded still further. The biggest constructive problem of our country is the systematic and productive utilization of man-power and this is being neglected if not ignored altogether. The nation is being trained into the habit of wanting gadgets for everything, forgetting our numerical strength and the danger of unemployed human body power. It may be 'civilized' and fall into the 'advanced' pattern of life to have gadgets for everything, but it is not civilized for a nation to have a large load of foreign debts or to have a large body of able bodied men unemployed. Not only is it not civilized, but it is not prudent from the point of view of even mere survival.

The dependence on foreign aid as a reliable resource is not wise. The world situation is not favourable for this resource to

be a dependable factor in a precarious calculation. The estimates of internal resources have been repeatedly shown by Prof. Shenoy to be erroneous and no answers have been forthcoming to what he has pointed out. More conclusive than any statistical figures as to real income in India is the grim fact that the consumption of cloth has remained stagnant at a low level during the past four years and the consumption of foodgrains has also not shown any improvement. It is below army or jail ration after twelve years of planned economy. Prof. Shenoy has shown that the implementation of the Third Plan will lead either to uncontrolled inflation, or a regimented economy adopting communist methods of physical suppression. He has shown that there is a real and serious gap in resources of Rs. 3,125 crores and deficit financing of this magnitude must lead to hyper-inflation.

The idea seems to be that all that Congress ministries have to do now is to use their official power for expanding and consolidating party influence, and somehow secure success at the polls in 1962, through favours done to key persons in business. State control starts by talking big but ends in giving monopolies to the chosen few who make profit for themselves and become vote managers and fund suppliers to the ruling party. Decentralization of government, too, similarly starts by talking big but ends in forming little tyranny clubs in the villages which work for the ruling party, in reality amounting to an extension of Congress committees with official power, expenses met by the public exchequer ! There is no salvation for the people unless they get out of the clutches of the omnivorous Congress and make up their minds to throw it out at the next elections, giving the nation a chance to keep party and State distinct in people's minds, and save democracy from becoming totalitarian.

October 29, 1960 *Swarajya*

NEW MEMBER-STATES OF U. N.

To drive matters to a pitched battle is not the way to strengthen the U.N., and strengthening the U.N. is an absolute pre-requisite for world peace. The process of adding to the power of the U.N., where contrary ambitions and creeds meet to form one whole, is a delicate one. To strengthen it as a whole, while contrary tendencies tend to make it only another forum for the cold war, calls for the highest wisdom, great patience and circumspection at every step. To push any issue in that Assembly to the brink of severance is the worst service one can render to the U.N. and to the cause of world peace.

The temptation is great for leaders of nations to look upon the U.N. as if it were a legislature or a municipal council with executive power behind its decisions and, depending on a prospective majority of votes, to push a dispute over the edge into a regular battle. This would be a fatal mistake. It would be killing this great golden goose instead of nursing it to lay the eggs we so greatly need.

The new States which have been admitted to membership, most of them underdeveloped nations, may be tempted to fall into groups and give a majority to one or another big leader-nation. Or it may even be possible one day for the socalled non-aligned nations all to join together and in an intoxicated mood seek to prove that they have a bigger voting power than either the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. It may be tempting to join one of these two giants and give a thumping defeat to the other in some 'decisive' battle. But 'decisive' such battles can never be, as long as it is open to the Great Powers to relinquish their membership in such a contingency, and prove that the great structure is only a house of cards depending for its continued existence on non-disturbance. Circumspection is necessary in the use of voting strength where the life and power of the insti-

tution depends so clearly on avoiding a crisis and on the keeping of it going as a united body.

The numerous small States which are in the U.N. now should remember this and wait patiently for the proper hour and season, and exercise their numerical strength as a force for persuasion and not so as to bring the structure down. Numerical strength is a fictitious entity in an institution like the U.N. It can be used for persuasion, not for battle. It cannot stand any martial adventure which will expose the fundamental weakness in the artificial structure. Such a trial of strength would disastrously demonstrate that the U.N. depends on the conjoint determination of the Great Powers to maintain its existence and help its functioning. If one or other of the Great Powers should withdraw, as a result of any rash adventure on the part of any member commanding voting strength, the world would automatically go to the condition in which it was before the formation of this institution on the basis of the united consent of the Great Powers.

The recent transactions of the U.N. lead one to make these observations by way of a warning for the future. More is to be achieved by a show of strength limited to the purpose of persuasion, and by friendly contacts, than by an actual challenge and trial of voting strength. Each individual national leader in that assembly has to behave more or less as circus managers deal with their beasts. The United Nations Assembly is after all an assembly of powerful wild nations ever ready to break the charm, and go back to wild life and use their strength without minding the consequences as the beasts of the forests do. Patriotism and national interests are of the nature of the emotions of the jungle, and these are ever ready to make nations go back to their natural condition, discarding the restraints of the world assembly. The life and growing strength of the U.N. depends on the delicate handling it receives at the hands of those that command voting strength.

October 29, 1960 *Swarajya*

PUNJABI SUBA CLAIM

The people speaking any particular language in India are a community bound together by the tie of language. There may be sub-communities within that community. But the communal bond that binds the people speaking one language cannot be ignored, for the mere reason that closer bonds bind some of them together than that which knits the larger community together as against people outside that circle. They form a community right enough. The distinction drawn between linguistic claims and 'communal' claims is a fallacy. That which binds men together in circles within the national boundaries may be a religious denomination or a language. The result is the same whatever the binding element is—a relative cohesion and a willingness to help one another within the circle, and a relative indifference or worse about the welfare of those outside the circle along with a desire to benefit at their expense.

From the point of view of the resulting feelings and motives there is no difference whether the communalism is caused by language or by religious denomination. Every one of the linguistic States of India is based on the acceptance of the claim based on language and the communalism involved in it. In every one of those claims is inherent a desire or hope to dominate over the minorities not speaking the language on which the right to autonomy was claimed. The opposition of the minorities to that claim was not an opposition to language but a fear issuing out of the communalism of the language group.

The claim for a Punjabi Suba is said to be communal, whereas the claim for a Maharashtra State, which was first opposed by the Union Government and which was subsequently conceded, is stated to be a 'non-communal' claim. This is a fallacious plea. All these language claims issue out of ambitions and fears con-

nected with men grouped together against others, not merely out of language, and are at bottom communal. There is a really saving feature in the Punjabi claim, that it is not so grossly communal as other language claims, because a nearly equal number of Hindus and Sikhs speak Punjabi within the proposed boundaries of the Punjabi Suba. The case of the Punjabi Suba is mitigated by this fact.

What the Sikhs probably feel is that they will be more significant in a Punjabi Suba than in the present Punjab. Is this a sinful thought? Must the Sikhs necessarily be doomed to be a very insignificant minority in the Punjab?

Much more of clear thinking is necessary in dealing with the merits of Master Tara Singh's claim than is contained in the opposition to it. The name communal is deemed enough to justify the condemnation of it. We should dive into the realities of communalism and what lies behind claims based on language. They are all one and the same, good and bad alike. The recent outrages in Assam could be called linguistic. But they were really communal. The language tie acted like a full blown community tie in Assam. The dividing line was not religion but language. All the same, it was the cause of dreadful acts universally condemned. There is a bond that unites people speaking a language which becomes the starting point for good or evil, sometimes the one and sometimes the other just as in the case of religious communities. Where there is a minority exposed to the probability of hatred and oppression, there is danger in conferring power on the people on the basis of totemism, be it of language or be it of religion. There is less danger, in fact, where the sizes of the opposing groups are relatively equal, more danger where the minority exposed to possible mischief is small. It is wrong, therefore, to condemn the Punjabi Suba claim on the alleged ground that it is really based on religion and not on language. The argument is unsound and issues out of a superficial understanding of the human mind and its ways. The claim for the Punjabi Suba is no better and no worse than the claim for Maharashtra or

Andhra. Whereas in the latter two cases the minority exposed to mischief is smaller, the minority that objects to the Punjabi Suba is not by any means small or unable to protect itself against possible mischief. The analysis made of the Punjabi claim, that it is motivated by the religious tie, proves nothing. Religion is no worse and no better than language. Both can operate for mischief as well as for good. Master Tara Singh adopts a formula which the Government of the Union made respectable by granting autonomy and regrouping States on that basis all over India. That the formula would confer some little benefit on the Sikh community can be no objection to the logical extension to the Punjabi language of what has been done in respect of other languages.

October 29, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE ECONOMIC POTENTIALITY OF FREEDOM

"BUT the truth is that we have paid and will continue to pay to the tune of hundreds of billions in lost purchasing power of dollars that have shrunk to less than half the value they represented in 1939. This is inflation. If the Government failed to balance its budget and hold the dollar stable, the confidence of other nations in the United States will falter." This statement of Mr. Eisenhower in October 1960 contains a lesson for those who believe that all is well with us floating on the waves of a 'developing economy'. There must be such inflation when our economy is developing, say the comforters, and want us to let things go on. We are not here concerned with the causes of the inflation in America. We are concerned with the rupee. What was our rupee worth in 1939? And what is it worth now? With 1938-39 as base the general index of prices in August 1960 is 478, a rise of nearly five times. The rupee has shrunk, not to less than half as Mr. Eisenhower is alarmed at over his dollar,

but to much less than a fourth, to nearly a fifth of its value in 1939.

It is universally admitted that small scale industries spread throughout the country are the solution for the problem of unemployment. This means greater scope should be given for private enterprise, which is now hemmed in by so many regulations and executive hindrances. The policy of the Government should not be to suck the greater part of all savings and divert capital to the public sector as is being done, but to encourage and create conditions for the free expansion of private enterprise.

Even as regards foreign aid, how much better it would be if conditions were created for the flow of foreign capital into investments and partnerships in private enterprises than feverish borrowings by the State and the loading of an unprecedented debt burden on the nation. From the point of view of fruitful utilization and husbanding of resources how much better it would have been can be easily imagined.

The indefatigable Professor B. R. Shenoy is contributing an article to a symposium projected by *The Illustrated Weekly of India* on economic trends, in which he will show how, as a result of inflation and import restrictions and other controls, income has shifted from the people to the upper income groups and how these income-shifts are mostly black money. According to him, this may be of the order of Rs. 500 crores per year ! He will point out how miserably the returns on public sector investments compare with the percentage yield on the market values of equity shares in the private sector. Among 52 enterprises with a government capital of 471 crores, only six declared dividends and this was 3.7 per cent of the capital of those undertakings. If all the capital sunk on government undertakings is taken into account, it would work to 0.3 per cent contrasted with an yield of 5.3 per cent of the market value of the equity shares in the private sector. Prof. Shenoy is clear in his conclusion that inflation, controls, and Statist policy kill the urge to efficiency

and that as a result of the restriction on external competition and import cuts, and the control of capital issues, all together resulting in elimination of domestic competition, private monopolies have been created in several lines. We shall not go into the connected question of the evils of favouritism. These private semi-monopolies created by government policies may help the collection of contributions to the party purse, but the enterprise talent of the community "gravitates more and more around officialdom as licences, permits and controls offer the easiest road—sometimes press-button simple—to get rich quick with the minimum of effort." The people are deceived by the ruling party to believe that it is against monopolies. Its policies lead to monopolies.

The extravagance and wastage resulting from Statism can be seen reflected in statistics. In the first Plan an additional investment of Rs. 3 yielded an annual increase of one rupee worth of gross output. In the first two years of the second Plan, it took over Rs. 5 in investments to expand gross output by one rupee.

There is no exit, says Prof. Shenoy, from the predicament except through a fundamental change of policy. Examining the trends in agriculture, the professor points out how interest rates on farm credit have risen in effect from 20 to 75 per cent on secured loans. Results are the direct opposite of intentions. Policies intended to 'protect' the farmers have, by circumscribing the activities of money-lenders, by the restriction of alienations, and the freezing of the peasants' only mortgageable asset, brought about a rise in the interest which farmers have to pay. Agricultural credit is 82 per cent dependent on traders and money-lenders. Friends and relatives help the farmers by about 15 per cent. The public organizations, co-operative and others, make a great noise but contribute only three per cent.

The basic fault in the ruling party's policy is its want of faith in the people and their capacity to look after themselves, and the false philosophy of Statism developed on that distrust. German

planners too had prepared long-term plans based on a policy of State direction in all matters just as our ruling party is doing. But under Prof. Erhard's freemarket policies, the potentiality released by freedom was demonstrated in phenomenal dimensions. Achievements in production, export and wage-rates rose to several times higher than the increases envisaged by the discarded long-term Plan of the planners.

Prof. Shenoy will show in his article how the free market policy never had a full chance in India and how absolutely necessary for progress and prosperity a replacement of the present policies is. It is hoped that the professor's contribution to *The Illustrated Weekly's* symposium will receive the widest reading.

November 5, 1960 *Swarajya.*

SARVODAYA

Minimum government and 'no-party' administration for that minimum is the slogan of the Sarvodaya Sangh. I had the pleasure of a long chat with some of the members who were here on their way to Bangalore for an all-India session of the Sangh. We discussed many matters. We came to the question of minimum government. I explained that minimum government was the aim and fundamental article of the Swatantra Party and that thus there was complete meeting ground on this basic point between the Swatantra Party and the Sarvodaya Sangh. Then we discussed Sarvodaya leaders' favourite subject : no-party administration. Without going into a debate about its possibility and the positive mechanism for producing such an administration within democracy, covering the continent of India, I pointed out that the Swatantra Party stood alone among political parties for the reduction of party regulation and the scope of party discipline and dogma to the barest mini-

mum. Other parties lean towards making the authoritarianism of the party spread as wide as possible. The popular notion is that a political party should have its own doctrines and special policies, on every issue that affects national welfare, without leaving anything to the decision of the individuals or the totality of opinion in the national assembly and State legislatures issuing out of individual views of all the representatives without party direction. The Swatantra Party has pledged itself to have most matters outside the party forum. Thus the Swatantra Party comes nearest to the Sarvodaya view as expressed by Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan. Whether we should go farther than that, and aim at wiping out party altogether from democracy, will depend on the experience to be gained by the nation with a philosophy of minimum party coverage which the Swatantra Party has adopted as one of its important planks.

The evil, as the Sarvodaya sees it, is reduced to the minimum in the Swatantra Party's programme, and on the experience gained we can see how far it is possible to get good government out of democracy without the help of the party system that prevails in all democracies, outside the communist countries. The latter countries have adopted one-party government with no room for any other party to arise or function. All discussions are within the party and limited to an interpretation of their scripture, no departure from it being allowed. In between the party system of the Western democracies and the monolithic system of the communists, the Swatantra Party believes in giving much greater freedom to party members than is generally allowed in the working of political parties. This would be a half way house, if it may be so called, to the non-party ideal preached so earnestly by the Sarvodaya leader, but which is not taken seriously by the socialist politicians in our country. The Swatantra Party's charter of freedom to its members on matters not covered by its fundamental principles would give to the representatives of the people much greater scope for executing real majority opinion in the country. Views would not be blocked by party discipline and true democracy would prevail.

The Congress's attachment to the philosophy of ubiquitous party control is so omnivorous that it tends to bring in even local administrations and institutions under the baneful influence of party politics. This is so obviously mad that even congressmen may, it is hoped, see the evils of such an extension. But even realizing it, they will not be able to stem the tide of party ambitions to reach out wherever there is scope for the exercise of power and the attendant advantages in terms of individual benefit for partymen. The Swatantra Party sets its face against running elections to local bodies and institutions under party flags, and hopes to resist the strong temptation there is always to follow bad examples.

November 5, 1960 *Swarajya*

HURDLES IN THE WAY OF WORLD PEACE

In the old days war was the concern only of the parties involved. The damage of war was suffered by the belligerents. The other peoples of the world did not suffer much. Sometimes they even profited. But now, after the addition of nuclear weapons to the arsenals of four Big Powers, the outbreak of war means outright poisoning of the whole world for man and his animal companions. Nuclear test explosions were dangerous enough. But a war, with nuclear weapons thrown in, would mean the bursting of enough bombs, and consequent radio-active fall-out to foul the air and the waters and the soil of the whole planet, and mankind would be consigned to death and disease, without disinction of whether any particular country was involved in the war or not. Radio-active poison follows no cold war alignments. It will poison everybody everywhere. Any declaration of war by a nuclear Power would, therefore, be a declaration of war against all humanity.

So war and peace are now the concern of every nation. It has become a joint and several concern. Every nation, in or out of the cold war blocs, big Power or small nation, has equal rights to veto war. This should be clearly recognized by the proud Powers. No one can say to another, "this is our affair, you cannot understand it; do not intervene." Everyone has the right to intervene in his own interest.

Unilateral action is the ultimate and only means to dissolve the mutual distrust that is at the root of the cold war. Whether any government is prepared or not to take unilateral action, the fact remains that it is the only way to reach the root cause. Unilateral action requires a great deal of courage. It may be described even as a dangerous gamble. But every act of the nature of love or friendship, or any other form of goodwill, is a gamble. There is and there can be no bargaining in love. Love and goodwill forge their own returns, not out of previous agreement or bargain, but out of their intrinsic nature. The gamble of the first step, if it may be so called, is based on the law of human nature and will never fail. Unilateral action is a procedure based on the truth that in human intercourse a step taken by one party in advance, and without any guarantee from the other side, inevitably produces a reaction in the other party. Unilateral action depends on no world organization or court. It depends on the essential goodness of human beings.

But governments are appointed to be cautious, to be ever vigilant and careful, to be ready for any emergency and not for taking any unilateral action. Thus, it is impossible to expect governments to secure peace for the world through unilateral action. Hence the importance of the U.N., which is the only institution and instrument for peace wherein governments can come together on the plane of negotiation. The U.N. Assembly is not yet a parliament with sanctions to execute its decrees. It is still only an instrument for persuasion. The moral sanctions of world opinion is behind it, but those who wish it well must use this instrument with great circumspection lest it may break in the very use.

Although it is true that unilateral action is excluded by the very nature of governments and the mandates on which they function, it is true also that when meetings take place between leaders of nations, as at the socalled summit conferences or otherwise, wherein things are partially or tentatively settled to be confirmed later on by formal approval on the part of the concerned governments, the principle of taking the first forward step without waiting for a guarantee of favourable reaction on the other side, can be observed, without damage to the nation or fear of such damage. Here, then, is a field for the play of moral forces which can bear great fruit. If courage is shown in that direction, we can have a cautious but useful and practical blending of the spiritual technique of unilateral action with the commercial principle of bilateral agreement. Indeed the idea of summit conferences is based on this fact. The hope of those who desire a termination of the cold war and its evils, the hope of those who wish for world peace and for an end of the nuclear threat, lies in a proper summit conference, where the principle of taking a step forward in advance of a promise on the other side will have some scope for play. The results of such conferences would, in due course, lead to a bolder attitude and realistic consideration of questions on the part of governments and induce them to take the risks involved in peace. At present national governments are, by tradition and habit, foolishly prepared to take all the risks of war, but not any of those of peace. A lead from the results of a summit conference may make things easier, and the prospects better for even very emotional and belligerent nations.

It is true that the national economy of Great Powers has been now geared everywhere (particularly in America) to the contingency of war. Industries are turned and trained for war at any moment. It may be difficult and it may take a long time and a very determined effort to give up war industries in favour of other lines of production. Particularly is it the case when private industry is linked up with war. A 'vested' interest has indeed been created for many in the cold war. This is one

of the many hurdles in the way of world peace. But the change-over has to be done, and it is good, immensely good, for the world that it should be done as soon as possible.

I have emphasized the importance of summit conferences, on the ground that some play can be found in such conferences for the moral technique of the unilateral forward step. But this, again, calls for leaders on the summit who not only have commanding influence among their peoples but also this special quality, that they care more for world peace than for their own national position and who are therefore prepared to stake it for the great cause.

After the Paris debacle and the last meeting of the U.N. Assembly there is no doubt a great set-back for peace. But it is not to be taken that mankind's quest for peace has finally failed. As long as there is life there is hope.

November 5, 1960 *Swarajya*

SOVIET - SINO RELATIONS

Some people nurse great hopes of a Soviet-Sino conflict which will weaken the communist world. A very comprehensive article in *The New Leader* by Brzezinski, a Professor at the Russian Institute of Columbia University, in which the position is most intensively probed and analysed, ends up with this clear verdict and sensible directive to these anti-communist optimists : "Naive and persistent talk about a Sino-Soviet split is not only senseless but may well have the effect of drawing the regimes closer together. One does not promote a heresy in a church one does not belong."

Wishful thinking is a dangerous thing. The Chinese-Soviet relationship is a 'divergent unity' much closer than any

alliances we know of. Both regimes are rooted in a common historical movement. Both share the same long-range aspirations and the same enemies. They are striving to reconstruct their societies on basically similar lines. They use similar operational concepts and organizational devices. In any moment of international tension, the two regimes are likely to be drawn closer together than any other two governments in the world.

November 5, 1960 *Swarajya*

PLAN BURDENS ON THE POOR

CHANAKYA Nagar is being expanded. The Madhya Pradesh has taken active steps to establish an 'embassy' with quarters and staff all complete in New Delhi to be in constant position for making applications to the Central Government and pushing things through in the secretariat.

We are told that the higher authorities do not look on the move with favour. But whatever may be their attitude, their policies have necessitated this development. Everything, not excepting the smallest matters, requires approval and assistance from ministers and officials at the Centre.

Not only State governments but every businessman has his embassy now in New Delhi and the Government of India knows it. No business small or big, no venture of any size or importance, can start or get on unimpeded without a permanent embassy in New Delhi, whether it is called a liaison office or a public relations office, or given no name at all. Staff and funds for this purpose have become an essential part of every enterprise, and it goes into the admitted items of expenditure against income-tax demands. This is the result of the Statism and centralization policy of the present government.

> "The Economic Stabilization plan is in danger of going on the rocks. Launched with the assistance of two international agencies and substantial American aid, the reform plan has lost its initial momentum and is drifting towards failure. To keep the economy from foundering, much of the American aid effort had to be changed to stop-gap measures. Inflation, high domestic prices, and over-valued currency handicapped the exports and kept foreign exchange earnings down. The situation was further aggravated by a flight of capital. The government disregarded advice to take measures to halt the drift towards bankruptcy. It balked at urgings to reduce government expenditures, open up the country to foreign investment and develop agriculture, instead of putting so much money and effort into 'prestige' industries."

All this is about Spain, taken from an American journal. But it might well be mistaken for a criticism of Indian administration.

The next Five-Year Plan proposed by the present government provides for the printing of fresh currency to meet a deficit of Rs. 550 crores. But this is an underestimate of the gap. If the Plan is adhered to, there will have to be much more of this inflationary procedure of adding to the printed currency. Responsible economic experts have already stated publicly how the gap has been underestimated. The estimates of savings is pitched higher than what could be expected and therefore the calculations about what may be mopped up out of it are wrong.

The Plan puts on the people the responsibility of investing additional Rs. 4,000 crores in the private sector. The question is whether there is adequate room for this hope being realized, taking into consideration the tax burden, present and future. What the Government plans by way of resources for the public sector will naturally have the first charge, and it will in several ways eat into the cake and starve the private sector.

'Surpluses' of public enterprises are expected to give Rs. 440 crores. This is really additional taxation, because the consumers must pay a higher price for the commodities and services (e.g., iron, steel, fertilizers, electricity, transport) to make up this expected socalled 'surplus' from public enterprises. The additional taxation, mostly indirect and therefore to be borne by all consumers mostly poor, is therefore not Rs. 1,650 crores but Rs. 1,650 plus Rs. 440, that is Rs. 2,090 crores. And these same poor must also bear the inflation and pay the higher prices of everything consumed, consequent on the Plan.

Over and above all this is the burden of foreign loans going up by another Rs. 2,200 crores as estimated in the resources plan. Bankruptcy is a strong word, but there is no more appropriate word for all this.

November 12, 1960 *Swarajya*

DISARMAMENT TALKS

Hatred breeds misunderstanding of events and statements. It would be useful for world peace, useful for any step taken towards that end, to keep in mind the exact words uttered by the Soviet Prime Minister in answer to definite questions. On October 9, at an important television interview, in answer to Mr. Susskind, Mr. Nikita Khrushchov said :

> The Soviet Union is ready to sign a treaty on disarmament and on the destruction of weapons As to the control over the destruction of weapons, over disarmament, let the United States propose a system of such a control. Whatever it proposes we shall accept because we are for real control : this is in our mutual interests.

But your President speaks not about disarmament but only about control over armaments, and so it happens that we speak not only different languages, but also about different things.

We are for control and for inspection. But what should be controlled? Is it not a fact that without disarmament there is nothing to control? What do you want after all, to control the work of our Government? You need not, we shall do that ourselves.

The Soviet Union is willing to effect disarmament, and this is the main thing. You speak of inspection, of control. We shall never accept inspection and control without disarmament because this would be espionage. We must achieve a solution of the main problem—disarmament, we must achieve peace Let us destroy arms and set up inspection to prevent anyone from arming in secret.

This is about disarmament and the connected question of control and inspection. The pessimism that has seized American statesmen over this question is regrettable. If this mood filters down from government and affects the people also, the position would be most desperate. On the other hand, Mr. Khrushchov appears to retain his optimism intact. It is no good saying it is all deceit. It may be due to the fact that Soviet policy is more intimately related to peace than the policies of the Western Powers. America appears indeed to have so far linked economic life with the cold war that the armament industry has come to be a great block in the way of peace.

Questioned about the prospects of a summit meeting, Mr. Khrushchov's answer is definitely hopeful :

Susskind : Are you ready to go to a new summit meeting with our future President?

N. S. Khrushchov : Not only am I ready but I think that we shall meet by all means.

The fear of a breakdown should not be allowed to prevent a meeting of the trusted representatives of the two peoples. No breakdown can make the position worse than what it is now. It is only at a summit meeting that there can be unreserved exchange of possibilities of give and take. It is essential that the heads of States should be encouraged to take bold and responsible personal decisions, and not hesitate to accept terms lest it may cost them their influence at home. They should be men who can make up their minds to stake their domestic position on a decision towards world peace. The meeting itself should be completely private, unaccompanied by any press reporters whose broadcasts so often prevent the taking of courageous steps forward and the development of new lines of approach unimpeded by public misunderstanding. All press reporting should commence only after the representatives return home.

While this was being written news has come that the Democratic candidate has won in the race to the White House. Where failure has been too often repeated, a change raises hopes. An obstinate situation tends to remain obstinate with the same men, but there is a chance for improvement when there is a change in personalities.

Total distrust leaves no room for negotiation for a real step towards settlement, apart from keeping up a show of effort, each side making propaganda out of it. If distrust is to be reduced, the only solvent is a gesture by one of the parties of what may be criticized as unwarranted trust. Distrust can recede only where such a thing happens by accident, or by a fortunate error, if not deliberately, and it breaks the vicious circle. When two courageous leaders meet with optimism in their hearts, or at least bravely adopted as a policy, and they discuss matters like two independent gentlemen forgetting the ebb and tide of their influence with their own people, and not as delegates briefed to negotiate and report, there is a chance of things making progress. The hope of the world rests now on this possibility. Mr. Khrushchov has already made a welcome statement indicating a

readiness if not desire to meet the new American President. Promptness as well as care are required, properly to handle the occasion. Mr. Kennedy's election, so far as the world is concerned, and perhaps also in the minds of American voters, is closely associated with the problem of world peace. Every man and every woman, everywhere in the world, is praying that the Democratic Party's hero may find good luck where older men have been so sadly discomfited.

November 19, 1960 *Swarajya*

FOR THE LOVE OF INDIA

If we desire that India should occupy a place of importance and command real respect in the world, it should be made into a prosperous country. Prosperity will come only through successful initiative, enterprise and good management. And this can be secured only if private industries are more widely and effectively encouraged. Public sector enterprises erected and run with foreign aid and foreign personnel will only be show-pieces for the concerned foreign Powers and will not contribute much, or at all, to our own status.

The present crippling taxation and the even more annoying nuisance of controls and regulations do not encourage industries. Private initiative is made to gravitate entirely to officialdom, and licences and permits are inured to various forms of corruption.

Swatantra which insists on minimum government and maximum freedom must win against the ruling party—not merely to give good government to the people. We must win our struggle for freedom for the love of India, to place it well among the nations on the map of the world. It is unfortunate that in a

democracy wherein parliamentary rule and fundamental rights of citizens had been specifically guaranteed in the Constitution, we have allowed Statism to seize hold of our economy and of our polity, and we have to initiate a new struggle to restore the fundamental rights which have been corroded into by amendments. We have to save parliamentary forms from becoming the mere tools of the totalitarianism of a particular party. It may be odd but it has become a fact that a more difficult campaign has to be waged against a party that flies our freedom flag than what had to be waged against the Union Jack of Britain. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's historical status and popularity is fully exploited by a party that has fattened on the opportunities of office in an administration, whose tentacles have dug themselves deep in the economy of a 'welfare State'.

Mr. Nehru is temperamentally loath to be such a tool but he is unable to free himself from the situation. He publicly appeals for the party to improve in character ! But when self-condemnation begins to show itself through schisms, a cry for unity is raised and thereafter a policy of hush-hush is encouraged, and abuses are covered up and the all-powerful Prime Minister even seeks to apologize for his harsh remarks. The latest slogan —as the elections are approaching—is that 'men of intelligence' should be selected as party candidates. Indeed there is no lack of intelligence; there is enough of it to enable the party members to derive the utmost advantage from the present licence-and-permit-economy. What is wanted is the real education that makes for character or at least generates the fear of being detected and exposed.

"Never before has it been so easy to expand the money supply; today new currency can be created merely by the operation of the printing presses." In the old days kings used to debase the metal of coins. But now inflation is much more easily brought about than in the past. Politics provides the motive to the government for availing itself of this easy possibility. In order to show greater expenditure on social services

and on 'development', for meeting the demand for fuller employment and to cover national security expenditure on an increased scale, deficit financing is resorted to, and the gap is filled in easily by the printing press. The ruling party resorts to deficit financing to buy popularity in order to be returned to power again, and the printing press and loans, internal and external, give the needed supply of money. The consequent inflation reduces the value of all savings and investments, and of deferred payments for services in the way of pensions and payments made by government for discharging its several national debt liabilities. This indirect confiscation may be passed off when it touches the rich people, but it falls heavily on the victims when they belong to the middle and poorer classes. The concealed confiscation in such cases, if made obvious, would be vigorously protested against. But generally the victims do not realize that prices rise on account of government action but attribute it to natural calamity or the greed of traders or accept the argument of an unavoidable law of a 'developing economy'.

Foreign aid and loans paint India as a poor relation in the international world, who will be a nuisance in the cold war if not appeased. Far better would it have been and more decent, if foreign investments had been more freely encouraged and worked into the private industry of the country and made the responsibility of private partnership business instead of State borrowings on a gigantic scale. It would not have then appeared as if we were living on charity.

November 26, 1960 *Swarajya*

EXPERIMENTATION ON ANIMALS

THE unspeakable cruelty that man is prepared to inflict upon innocent helpless animals including that creature which loves

and trusts him most, the dog, is the horrible subject of proof and condemnation in Dr. Beddow Bayly's book *More Spotlights* *

The book discloses cruelties which would be unbelievable but for the authority and full documentation provided by the author. It is true that the progress of science in dealing with human health depends to a certain extent on experiments to be made on animals. But like all other procedures of doubtful propriety, there is a limit beyond which surely the interests of speculative science should not be carried. Dr. Bayly's book deals with the cases that fall in this class. War is justified by tradition, but even there we have limits laid on the barbarity that is permissible. So also it is obvious that there should be a point beyond which cruelty cannot be practised, simply for testing speculative ideas that may remotely be of possible use in relieving human suffering.

It seems as if once the practice of systematic cruelty on animals is sanctioned by public opinion, and grants are made for such experiments by governments and public institutions, the callousness produced feeds on itself and there is no limit felt necessary to place on the cruelties practised. Dr. Bayly has taken great trouble and collected facts beyond question and placed them before the world in this book. Enlightened opinion should bring back humanity to a sane line of action in this respect. The victims of the inhumanities practised are voiceless, but sin cannot go unpunished, if there is a God above us, and the tensions of the present day world may well be the just punishment which such cruelties as Dr. Bayly describes have earned. These animal experiments are an enemy to man's spiritual welfare and progress.

People have been misled to believe that these experiments done by scientists, whose love for humanity has induced them to do this are painlessly done and that anti-vivisectionists indulge

* *More Spotlights* by Dr. Beddow Bayly, M R C.S., L.R.C.P. published at 27 Palace St., London, S.W 1-1960

in exaggeration. Dr. Bayly's book proves beyond doubt that this is not true. As Dr. Bayly says : "Man only becomes truly human when he is humane, showing forth those qualities of compassion, pity, understanding and chivalry which the most revered in all ages have taught him to cultivate assiduously. Only as man expresses these qualities can he hope to win either spiritual maturity or material health and happiness." Those who practise such cruelties as this book discloses have successfully blunted and destroyed their humanity, and made themselves into wild beasts. The effect of these systematic cruelties practised under high auspices is bound to be a general brutalization of man.

The sheer futility of the vast majority of these cruel animal experiments, and their entire remoteness from any connection with problems of human disease, prove that the experiments "are actuated by mere curiosity, by a desire to wrest secrets from Nature and acquire abstract knowledge at all costs and irrespective of any possible value such knowledge may possess for the amelioration of human suffering." In fact the cruel practice is defended by scientists from this very angle of "knowledge for its own sake". Far nobler, as Dr. Bayly remarks, is the demand for "righteousness for its own sake"—not only nobler, but also in the long run more definitely in the interests of human progress and civilization. Scientific curiosity with its endless permutations is an unappeasable hunger and must be curbed where it is associated with the merciless infliction of pain on these our young brethren in the animal kingdom, as Dr. Bayly rightly calls these innocent dumb victims of the insatiable curiosity of some hardened men.

No quotations have been made here of the forms of torture practised under the name of vivisection. They are really too shocking for quotation. Anyone wishing to realize the horror may go through the pages of Dr. Beddow Bayly's book.

November 26, 1960 *Swarajya*

ENRICHING PARTY CHEST

MORAL principle is the foundation of sound polity. But our ruling clique has successfully voted out in the Lok Sabha the proposal to stop the practice of collecting 'donations' from companies working under steel-bound regulations in our welfare State. The opposition to this immorality was frank and fierce. Some few of the members of the Congress Party were quite ashamed of it all, but the party is shameless.

> Mr. Tyagi (Congress) said that giving of contributions by companies to political parties was a form of corruption The contributions were paid under pressure or in expectation of gain. The Lady Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Fund was a case in point. Money was being donated for the fund not because people were interested in the memorial, but to 'appease those who are in power' The former private assistant to Prime Minister Nehru, Mr Matthai, was going about collecting donations for the fund. It is to please and appease those who are in power, and have patronage to distribute, that people contribute to corrupt. It is no use hiding facts. Let us face facts as they are. I appeal to the Government as a member of the party to withdraw it. It will bring bad name to the party. We do not want any contribution from persons who have no faith in our ideology'
>
> Mr. Tyagi asked the Government to make it clear that these contributions would not be tax-free. If they were tax-free, he said, the elections would be fought at the expense of the public exchequer. He wanted a probe to be made into the growing concentration of industries and wealth in a few hands.

It is significant that Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru did not intervene in the familiar way and come out with his reactions or desires in the matter. He probably felt unequal to the task of fetching any ingenious apology for this disgraceful provision which enables and encourages the fullest use of governmental power in a regulation-ridden polity to fill the ruling party's election chest. The

ruling party has undertaken to put a ceiling on this form of corruption ! We may as well pass a law that government officials may take no more of bribes in a single instance than the amount of the official's salary for one year. Moderate corruption is worse than moderate drinking, for which pro-alcohol people plead so vigorously.

As the arguments against the practice of the Congress exploiting its position of power in a regimented economy, and extracting contributions to the party chest from business firms, covered not only the political immorality of it but also the misappropriation of shareholders' money for purposes not contemplated by the objects of the company, the Government seized the latter ground and has sought to mislead the public and perhaps Parliament, too, by accommodating the Opposition by a socalled ceiling based on a percentage of the profits earned. This may be soothing to those easily deceived by appearances. The high incidence of tax on profit makes the permitted ceiling on such legalized mis-expenditure pointless. The graver and the real evil of the practice lies in the political crime involved, in the use of the enormous power arising from the numerous fears and favours exercisable by the ruling party in the regimentation of business, for the extraction of political toll and enrichment of the party chest.

A party that gets into power will, by reason of this practice in the context of a 'developing economy', be enabled to accumulate enormous funds, which can defeat all the purposes of the law restraining corrupt practices at elections. It can perpetuate itself for all time in a country where votes are easily bought, leaving only violence as a means to change governments. The legalization of the government party collecting funds for election purposes from businessmen placed by the law, at its mercy, in every stage and incident of their occupation is an axe laid at the root of parliamentary democracy. It reduces the five-yearly general elections to a farce.

December 10, 1960 *Swarajya*

TRANSFER OF BERUBARI

THE Berubari issue is taking an acute turn. It is obvious to anyone who respects commonsense and has some legal training to enable the interpretation of documents, that the provisions of the articles in the Constitution relating to alteration of boundaries of the States comprising the Union, whether for mere alteration or resulting in an increase or decrease of area, relate only to internal re-distribution and do not cover the secession of Indian territory to a foreign government. This has been made perfectly clear by the Supreme Court and no more argument on the point would be necessary or useful. The West Bengal legislature's expression of its views on this subject is perfectly correct in law as well as a true reflection of public opinion.

There is no provision in the Constitution which, by *amendment*, could be made to justify Berubari. The idea of using the two-third majority rule of Article 368, in order to introduce a wholly new article, appears to be of doubtful propriety, when even for purposes of lesser gravity mentioned in the proviso of that article a more elaborate and stringent procedure is prescribed.

General Ayub Khan has made what must appear on the surface to be a very good and very embarrassing point—that governments must carry out treaties whatever the cost, and that otherwise there can be no reliance on one another's promises and there would be an end to any fruitful negotiation between two governments. This is true. But we must ask General Ayub, are we arriving at peace between the two *peoples* or only between the two governments? Is it good policy to force things on the basis of a treaty when the cost would be peace itself? Neither side will gain in any real sense by Shylock's pound of flesh if, as a result, the two peoples drift further apart and hatred is

augmented and goodwill driven farther away. A treaty is a means to an end, not an end in itself, in the case.

A dictator ruling by the force of his army can smile at the difficulties of a government which rules through a parliamentary machine and its inherent difficulties. But even he should realize that army rule cannot go on for ever. He also should one day submit to the popular opinion. Subservience to army opinion is not very different from, or more praiseworthy than, subservience to popular opinion. Would General Ayub hold on to a treaty if his army violently disapproved of it?

Mr. N. C. Chatterji writes to me:

"I ought to tell you that the Prime Minister's persistence in proceeding with the transfer of Berubari to Pakistan is being deeply resented by the people of West Bengal.

"I had the privilege of presiding over the People's Convention of Berubari in the district of Jalpaiguri and I had the opportunity of appearing for the Berubari residents before the Supreme Court. As the President of the Berubari People's Convention I had declared that it was *ultra vires* for the Prime Minister and Parliament to make any gift of Indian territory and I demanded the Government to proceed under Article 143 of the Constitution. The Supreme Court vindicated our stand and the proposed transfer by executive action was declared *ultra vires*. The Supreme Court also decided that it was not a question of demarcation of boundary, but it was an alienation of a part of Indian territory in favour of Pakistan.

"In spite of the strong feeling in West Bengal and the unanimous decision of the West Bengal Legislature, the Government of India is determined to make the

transfer of Berubari. The Calcutta meeting strongly voiced the feeling of the people. I had forwarded my statement to the Prime Minister of India. But his response has been disappointing."

Mr. N. C. Chatterji has issued a public statement in which, after relating the history of the controversy up to the point when the Supreme Court decided in its unanimous judgment against the legality of the proposed transfer of the area to Pakistan unless the Constitution is amended, he says :

A constitutional amendment under Article 368 may not be a very difficult task in view of the big majority which the ruling party commands in both the Houses of Parliament. It may be that the the Ruling Party has a giant's strength. But we would seriously ask the Government of India to consider whether it should use this power like a giant. I would urge the Prime Minister in this critical hour to consider the imposition of such a transfer when West Bengal is faced with a terrible disaster caused by communal and linguistic upsurge in a neighbouring State and has to shoulder the additional burden of thousands of refugees recently uprooted from their homes.

In undivided Bengal, the district of Jalpaiguri had a predominant non-Muslim population, being 77 per cent of the whole population, and when the former province of Bengal was partitioned into two provinces, the whole district of Jalpaiguri and the State of Cooch-Behar were included in the State of West Bengal as parts of India.

By the Radcliffe Award, five thanas of the district of Jalpaiguri were made over to Pakistan and the rest including the thana of Jalpaiguri was retained in the district of Jalpaiguri

From the day of Independence and from the date of the Radcliffe Award right upto the present moment, the Union of Berubari, as an integral part of the thana of Jalpaiguri and the district of Jalpaiguri, has been under the lawful control and possession of the State of West Bengal and thus formed an integral

part of India, within the meaning of Article 1 of the Constitution of India.

The West Bengal Government has spent huge sums of money in this area for construction of roads, bridges, schools, hospitals and this area is the connecting link between the Haldibari thana of the district and Cooch-Behar and the Jalpaiguri thana.

Pakistan had been treating the Berubari Union as part of the district of Jalpaiguri and never laid any claim that by the Radcliffe Award this tract had been given to them.

After the Radcliffe Award many boundary disputes arose between India and Pakistan which led to the appointment of an International Tribunal, viz , the Bagge Tribunal. Pakistan never claimed this territory and there was no reference regarding Berubari to that Tribunal.

For the construction of a hospital in this area, the people of the area contributed Rs. 2,500 (deposited with the Government on January 12, 1957). One post office and two police outposts are functioning here. More than Rs. 10,000 have been given to the people in the shape of loans. The Government has arranged for the settlement of a large number of refugees in this area. The people of Berubari had taken part in two general elections to Parliament and State Legislature and a number of by-elections to Parliament and State Government. Summons were and are issued on them by the courts in India and the Indian Police have all along maintained law and order in the area They also participated in the latest by-election to a seat in Parliament.

Neither the West Bengal Legislature nor the West Bengal Government was consulted before the treaty was made. The people of Berubari were never consulted nor given an opportunity to put forward their point of view and the Convention of the representatives of the people of the area held at Berubari, unanimously resolved that they were Indian citizens and wanted to remain as such and that they were firmly opposed to their being denationalized and defranchised and declared that they would resist any attempt to transfer any part of Berubari Union in District

Jalpaiguri to East Pakistan Should they be sacrificed in pursuit of the policy of appeasement? That policy yields no dividends, as experience has shown both with regard to Kashmir and India's northern border.

In any event when both the Houses of the Bengal Legislature unanimously opposed the transfer, the Central Government should not defy the will of the people constitutionally expressed through their elected representatives. We appeal to all right thinking citizens throughout India to support the demand of West Bengal.

A cry of anguish from a 'small' man is worth reading. He writes in a letter to me :

Some two years ago when I had written to you about the Berubari affair and the Central Government's bungling over it, you had written to me while describing my letter as a 'marvellous' one that your voice was a lone voice and you did not feel you could achieve anything by intervening in the matter Unfortunately the Swatantra Party had not then come into existence and undoubtedly yours was 'a lone voice'. But things have undergone tremendous changes since then and today your voice is the voice of the countless millions of our countrymen and hence it cannot go unheeded.

You have been on whirlwind tour and I did not want to trouble you by writing anything but now, when the Prime Minister has categorically declared that he is not bound to consult even the State on this issue, we are faced with an unprecedented crisis. At that time I had sent to you the map of those areas that are to be transferred and you had immediately written to me . "Bengal must fight its battle. It knows how to fight".

The battle was indeed fought gallantly and some arrests also had been made. Prominent among those that had been arrested was the local Jan Sangh leader Sri Ram Prasad Das and he was kept in prison for full one year under the Black Act, the notorious P D. Act. The Government dropped the matter for the time being and the people felt that the Government would not raise the matter any more. But the Government was mysteriously active

and then suddenly Mr. Nehru threw the bombshell of his personal prestige and now proposes to bring up a Bill You remember that an ordinary professor of a local college had moved the Supreme Court and the Supreme Court declared that nobody had any power to give away any portion of the Indian territory to any foreign powers, unless the Constitution is suitably amended.

Now what is to be done? You had been the Governor of our Province and then the Governor-General also of the country I know the Government is not obliged to listen to your advice but the greater Government, I mean the people of India and of Bengal in particular, would listen to your voice and act up to it We have been patiently waiting for your reaction to this Bill and the Government's proposed action but to our great anxiety you have not said anything. You are aware of the feelings of the people of Bengal over this issue but they would like your support and we are sure, appreciating our stand, you will lend a powerful support to our fight. The people of Berubari are in a state of great panic At that time I had conveyed your message to the resistance committee leaders. This time we want to have your support from public platforms and press and we hope you will not disappoint us

The battle of democracy will be fought not in the Union Legislature where Mr. Nehru's henchmen are in brute majority but in Berubari where the attention of our people is now centred

The fate of 12000 people is linked up with Berubari. Berubari is neither a desert nor a no-man's land. Its 12000 inhabitants annually produce about 2000 maunds of paddy which testify to the fertility of the soil. Its output of the commercial crop, jute, will be in the neighbourhood of 1 50 lakh maunds Besides these crops, various kinds of vegetables are also raised by its residents It may be called the rice bowl of Jalpaiguri which depends largely on its agricultural produce. The Government of West Bengal is constructing a road from Haldibari to Berubari at a cost of two lakhs of rupees and a bridge over the river Punga at a cost of 1.50 lakhs of rupees. The education of over two thousand school-going children of Berubari has also received due consideration. There are eight primary schools and one junior high school for imparting education to them. About 6000 displaced cultivators

have been rehabilitated at Berubari. The transfer of Berubari to Pakistan will render 12000 people including these 6000 refugees homeless again thereby.

The transfer of areas small or big without the consent of the people living therein must be given up by the Government. It could be the height of folly to ignore the appeal of the people of Bengal and to force things on the basis of a majority in Parliament.

December 10, 1960 *Swarajya*

DRIVE TOWARDS EQUALITY

THE falsehood assiduously and almost successfully spread that capitalists and, therefore, capital are enemies of the people must be cleared, if we desire true progress and happiness. The short-lived pleasure that arises from the successful operations issuing out of hatred and jealousy is not happiness or a step towards progress. It is really suicidal.

Capital is that portion of wealth which is applied to the production of more wealth, as seed grain is that portion of the harvest, which is kept and applied to the production of more grain. A good farmer knows the value of good seed grain. A good statesman ought to know the value of capital. Anything done to discourage the building up of capital is a suicidal policy. It may be pleasant to eat up the seed grain, be it one's own or another's accumulation, taken in force or by the use of the power of the State. The pleasure derived from consuming the grain robbed from another is as transient as it is illegal. What follows is permanent privation. The socialist attack on capital will result in national loss and the drive towards equality will prove to be a drive towards suicide. When people are enslaved or oppressed, a socalled 'national purpose' may be cultivated. But when a

nation is civilized and free, the policy of forcing energies into a single channel giving it the name of a national purpose is a technique employed by tyrants and totalitarian demagogues. It destroys the real source of progress, viz., individual incentive, initiative and enterprise. The ambition of dictators is unquenchable. Like fire it feeds on itself. They pretend to know the national purpose better than the nation itself, and give that name to their own mad follies and ambitions. By reiteration and fraud they make the people imagine that it is *their* purpose. Thus do dictators (and they are of various types) kill individual initiative and enslave people before leading them to ruin.

All dictators fly the socialist flag. They tell people in their shrill tones that socialism is people's welfare, and that their mission is to establish general happiness through socialism. Fundamental rights, they declare, should be violated in order to achieve the national purpose. Anyone who protests is dubbed by them an enemy of social welfare, and in order to suppress arguments they take power to suppress people.

It takes a great deal of courage and sacrifice to oppose this, especially when a start is given to the demagogues and they are entrenched in power. But there is no way to save the nation from enslavement and ruin except by firm resistance and the education of the people to reject the fraud, and deprive the demagogues of their power.

December 17, 1960 *Swarajya*

PARKINSON'S SECOND LAW

The savages described by Montesquieu who, to get at the fruit, cut down the tree, are about as good financiers as the advocates of this sort of taxes.

—J. R. McCulloch

> I place economy among the first and most important of virtues and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with public debt. We must make our choice between economy and liberty or profusion and servitude. If we run into such debts, we must be taxed in our meat and drink, in our necessities and comforts, in our labour and in our amusements. If we can prevent the Government from wasting the labour of the people, under the pretence of caring for them, we will be happy.
>
> —THOMAS JEFFERSON

THE laws made by kings and legislatures are not immutable and may be disobeyed by rebellious people. But there are laws which are in the nature of *vidhi* and which are immutable—like the law of conservation of energy or Newton's laws of motion. Constitutions have invested governments with unlimited powers of taxation. But though the power is 'unlimited', there are limits beyond which, when taxation is levied, it becomes dangerous and even fatal. Northcote Parkinson calls this his second 'law'. When the Finance Minister of India mournfully confesses that additional taxes are inevitable, and proceeds to investigate the possibilities of putting heavy taxes on the very poor, by levying excise duties on commodities which they consume in one form or another, it is a clear indication that Parkinson's second law is in operation.

Northcote Parkinson has become famous by his odd-looking but wise opinions which went contrary to orthodox error, and to which he gave cynically-shaped expression and pleased a suffering and thinking world. His latest book* is worth reading. He has written it to show that there are limits to the collection of revenue and that "evils multiply when these limits are ignored." The positive purpose of this new book is to show that "a greatly reduced revenue would bring about an improvement, not a decline, in the public services."

---

* *The Law and the Profits* by Northcote Parkinson: John Murray, London 1960.

Mathematics has its unchangeable laws. People working in the concrete world, of which mathematics is the inexorable abstract, are prone to make miscalculations leading to disappointment and consequent misery. Parkinson has defined his second law—that when there is a rise in receipts, be it of individuals or of governments, it is silently absorbed, leaving the recipient barely in credit and often in fact with a deficit. Whatever the revenue may be, there will always be the pressing need to spend it. Individuals at least pause to consider what the income is. But those in charge of public finance ignore the total of their income and consider only what they would like to spend.

During times of emergency public authorities spend lavishly without thought of limits. When the emergency ends, there is no reversion to economy. Governmental income remains at its war-time or emergency level and peace-time expenditure rises to meet it. There is no limit to departmental and technical luxuriance. The public revenue is regarded as limitless and expenditure rises eternally to meet it. The various devices which are supposed to check expenditure fail to do so, being wrongly conceived and imperfectly motivated. We must devise a new plan, says Parkinson, to achieve economy.

As a first step, says Parkinson, we must reverse the whole process of governmental finance. Ministers should not begin by ascertaining what the departments need. They should begin by asking what the country can *afford* to spend. What proportion of the national income should the government demand? What proportion of the individual's income can the government safely take? There is a limit, beyond which it is dangerous and a limit beyond which it is fatal. Historical fact and economic theory, says Parkinson, both clearly indicate these limits.

Parkinson suggests a machinery for reversing the present financial practice and for the creation of an incentive for cutting down national expenditure. It is of course contrary to all present ideas. He suggests rewards, titles and exemption from taxation

for citizens and officials, who successfully propose deletion of any expenditure. All such saving should be utilized to reduce the National Debt and not simply go to another department for being spent by it.

Parkinson admits that the reform of national finances suggested by him will be strenuously opposed :

> Freedom is founded upon ownership of property. It involves self-expression in terms of architecture and art. It cannot exist where the rulers own everything, nor even when they concede some limited right of tenure. But the modern belief is that spendable income is a concession by the State. The taxation which is intended to promote equality, the taxation which exceeds the real public need, and above all the tax which is so graduated as to prevent the accumulation of private capital, is inconsistent with freedom. Against a State which owns everything, the individual has neither the means of defence nor anything to defend. For the normal human being who is not a creative artist or scientist by profession the means of self-expression consists largely of rooms to modify and gardens to tend, trees to plant and offspring to rear. Losing these opportunities for expression, the individual loses individuality, freedom and hope.
>
> The reform will be faced inevitably (says Parkinson) by a closed phalanx of civil servants representing one of the strongest vested interests in the world Their opposition, though passive, will be formidable. To all proposals for a proper system of accounts they will reply with a pitying smile that it was tried once at the War Office, found wasteful and long ago abandoned They will then retire behind a smoke-screen of technical mysteries, muttering that public finance is a more complex matter than is generally realized.

December 17, 1960 *Swarajya*

NAVARATNA RAMA RAO

NAVARATNA RAMA RAO and I met in 1892, when we were both in our early teens, in the Central College, Bangalore. I sought him out and left a letter in his room on the top of an eating house, asking for his friendship. Eating houses were of wretched quality in those days, and students who had no home in the city hired wretched rooms to sleep in and ate poor meals in what were called 'hotels', which were as far from the hotels we know now as a twelve-anna rush mat is from a Persian carpet. My letter must have been a very boyish document. But in the romance of adolescence it was a serious adventure. I was attracted by his brains, his brightness, his loveable exterior, and by his being better read than all the rest of us in the college, and as fond of great English literature as myself. Rama Rao accepted my offer and we were friends from then until death parted us on 27th November 1960, after sixty-eight years of unbroken attachment. We read a lot together—Byron, Shakespeare, Scott, Robert Louis Stevenson, Thackeray, Dickens and many other classic authors' books. Mostly, he read for me. He was the greater connoisseur of us two, and his taste was superb and he guided me like a mesmerist. We laughed and enjoyed humour and talked metaphysics, and educated each other continuously. Our friendship was an astonishment and mystery to our college mates but they tolerated it, and gathered round both of us in admiration.

My boyish instinct was right and I am thankful for it. Our mutual affection made us nobler and better, and stronger and happier than either of us would have been without it. We were each the external life of the other as Valmiki puts it in respect of Sri Lakshmana for Sri Ramachandra. All life is a mystery and I realize it more and more every day, as one after another of my friends and colleagues pass away, and I am left in increasing loneliness. Life is a mystery but love is the greatest mystery in it. Dear young men and women, prize friendship as we two

did—Rama Rao and I. We swore to ourselves, each in his own mind, that we should be friends for all life. And so we were all these nearly seventy years, one soul in two bodies and two lives in each body. This kind of friendship will keep you from sin, from all kinds of meanness. It will protect you, like a guardian angel, against all evil, all unhappiness, all stepping down from the ideals of romantic youth.

Rama Rao's life and mine ran on different tracks. What if? We were ever together, though others did not see it. Whatever each of us was doing, and wherever we were, we were together in spirit. Pothan Joseph wrote last week, "I know he is in deep mourning for a friend in Bangalore who had become a part of his own being." That put it as briefly and truly as any English words can do it. Those who have not experienced true and full friendship must think it all nonsense. God bless them.

I saw my friend under Death's black shadow on the ninth of November. The poison had gone to his head. He smiled in recognition but he was above the region of pain and away from normal expression. He was in delirium, uttering high things about the affairs of the world, about truth, and about many other things, all incoherently. It was heart-rending to watch his best and most admirable intellect involved in incoherence. I asked a daughter-in-law of his, who sat by his bed, to sing a *Kirtana* of Purandaradas. She did it beautifully. My friend's eyes glistened. He stopped speaking and weakly struggled to bring his palms together in prayer. I hepled him to do it. He looked grateful and sank into worship and silence. Never did I feel so happy as then.

The doctors gave up all hope, and it was only a matter of a couple of days according to them. But he appeared to revive and astonished the medical men for a few days. Exactly a fortnight after I had left him, on November 13, to go to Gujarat, Maharastra and Karnatak, I got a message on the last day of my programme when I was in Belgaum, that all was over. I made an all-night car journey from Belgaum to Bangalore and

reached at dawn. But before that, the previous evening, my friend's body had been according to ancient custom reduced to ashes, and I could only walk round that cruel heap and make three perambulations as a last physical act of love. As the *Isa* Upanishad Rshi sings "the breath had left to join the universal air and the body had turned into *bhasma,*" "O mind", as the Rshi continues, "remember that only the works remain, only the works remain."

ओं क्रतो स्मर कृतँ स्मर
क्रतो स्मर कृतँ स्मर ॥

And I returned from the cremation ground praying as the Rshi did:

अग्ने नय सुपथा राये अस्मान्
विश्वानि देव वयुनानि विद्वान् ।

> O, Fire, thou who knowest all the paths, lead us in the right path, cleanse us and save us from sin, we entreat you, over and over.

December 17, 1960 *Swarajya*

OUR FOREIGN POLICY

THE democratic way of collective life has broken down in Nepal. It was preceded by a similar breakdown in Pakistan. All round us in Asia this disillusionment is spreading. It seems we should take warning in time. To borrow on astronomical scales from world Powers without any plan or schedule explaining the repayment programme and capacity is not the way to prepare against a breakdown of parliamentary democracy. It is a push in the direction of the breakdown.

The incursions in the northern border have not been repelled. Obviously, we do not feel equal to the task. Non-alignment would be excellent if independence could cover the economic

as well as the defence requirements of the country resulting from national policies. Obviously, again, this is not the case with us. We have plunged into economic dependence neck-deep.

A recent article of Mr. Tholal struck me as desperately frank and serious. He has laid bare our defence position *vis-a-vis* non-alignment in an unanswerable manner. He asks us to stop our nonsense and get down to realities. He quotes from the Prime Minister's speech in Parliament in reply to a call for resisting China : " It is not the path of wisdom to take steps or talk about taking steps before you are prepared for them, before you can take them effectively and before you have exhausted every other means." Mr. Tholal rightly asserts that India will not in the foreseeable future be in a position to take the " effective steps " the Prime Minister refers to, under our present policy of non-alignment. And all that remains for India is to warn China that armed conflict with India will lead to a world war. This the Prime Minister is doing pretty frequently. Our only hope of saving India lies in the threat of world war. Now Mr. Tholal asks two questions. Is this reliance on the threat of a world war as a defence against Chinese aggression consistent with our opposition to the cold war and our unbroken advocacy of world peace ?

What is the meaning of this threat of world war in the context of our debate with China ? It is that when China seeks to overwhelm India, the U.S.A. will not sit idly watching the conquest of India by a communist Power but will come to India's assistance to stem the tide of aggression. This is the meaning of the oft-repeated threat of world conflagration. If not, it has no meaning whatsoever, beyond being a historic superstition that small events bring about big wars.

Then does the Prime Minister expect, asks Mr. Tholal and so may everyone ask, that the U.S.A. will come to our aid uninvited and against our non-aligned will ? If this is not expected, we have in our mind an invitation to the world Powers who are opposed to the advance of communism to assist us. Our

non-alignment therefore can be flourished only so long as there is no danger from China. Why then, asks Mr. Tholal with reason, should we not act in time and seek the friendship of the non-communist Powers beforehand? Is it not already too late, for have we not seen the West abstaining from taking up the cause of small States, lest it may develop into a global and nuclear war? Does it not seem that we have already let the opportune hour slip? It will be as clear to our enemies as to ourselves that America will not step in to help us against the 'small-bite' aggressions of communist China.

If we have to use the threat of a global war as a sanction against the communists, we must pay the price for that sanction, viz., enter into a defensive arrangement on a legitimate and frank basis, dropping our pride and our old slogans and prejudices. At the threshold we must make an honest and frank bargain with Pakistan as to joint defence. The fundamentals of military policy do not much change although centuries pass. In a very recent book of Captain Liddell Hart, one of the most respected military analysts of America, the author ends with an epilogue in which the guiding principles are listed: Study war and learn from its history. Keep strong. Keep cool. Keep patient. Never corner an opponent and rouse him to desperation. See things through his eyes. Avoid self-righteousness. These principles were enumerated 2400 years ago by Sun Tzu but they are still valid though usually still forgotten.

We must take lessons from Norway. Norwegians are a proud and intensely nationalistic people. Traditionally Norway is neutralistic and puts great faith like us in world organizations. During the war Norway attempted to keep free of all entanglements, and though she bitterly disliked Hitler's aggressions, she was equally vehement in protesting against the intrusion of the British in her territorial waters. Even after the war, for over four years she did not change her neutralistic attitude but placed great confidence in the United Nations as a world organization calculated to preserve the peace. But in 1949 Norway joined NATO. After

the communist coup in Czechoslovakia in 1948, it became apparent that a neutralistic policy was untenable and Norway had to and did choose between East and West. She tried the alternative of a strong Scandinavian defence pact. But it did not succeed in taking shape. Norway then accepted membership in NATO with reservations against any policy of aggression and against permitting foreign troops to be stationed in Norwegian soil. Neutralism is still a strong feeling in Norway but NATO remains an essential part of the foreign policy of the Government.

So far as India is concerned, after the Chinese aggression and after the disappointment in our expectation that Russia would interfere, it is clear that our attachment to non-alignment is reduced to a meaningless superstition. We tried hard to get the Soviet Power to see our plight, and appealed to her to save our non-alignment, but Russia was not willing or was not able to induce China to call her aggression off. To believe that Russia will, later, help us to retain our frontier although now she may be unwilling to quarrel with China, is really to fool ourselves.

And so, the Swatantra Party declared at Hyderabad that when our territorial integrity had been violated and our soil occupied by a communist Power, the concept of non-alignment had little meaning and our policy, therefore, needed to be reviewed and brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation. In March 1960, at Patna the party confirmed this and adopted the following resolution which it may be useful to reproduce :

> The policies of China in regard to India are a potential and growing danger which call for a more realistic and correct policy in regard to international friendship with the non-communist Powers. Such a policy is not inconsistent with our general policy of peace and disarmament to which the nation is rightly committed and to its declared policy of opposition to the use of nuclear weapons of any kind.

December 23, 1960 *The Hindu*

OUR FOREIGN LOANS

We have plans for investment and expenditure during the third Five Year Plan period. We have plans for taxation to meet the cost. We have plans to mop up all savings for the use of the public sector. We have plans to borrow from all the nations of the world, both separately and collectively. All this we have, and Prof. B. R. Shenoy has untiringly exerted himself to show where these plans are all wrong.

But there is one thing not touched as yet publicly. What are the plans to repay the loans borrowed from abroad? I wish the Planning Commission, or someone else on behalf of the Congress Party, explained to the public in what way the thousands of crores borrowed from America, Britain, Japan, Germany and other prosperous countries are intended to be repaid by our sons and grandsons. Is it intended to beg for write-off? If a country not ravaged by war, but only mismanaged by ambition, is to ask that the debts be written off, what will it amount to in prestige and in independence? Why did we not ask for gifts, but pleaded for aid through loans? If we must repay in order to retain prestige and independence, what are the plans for repayment?

What are the goods we hope to produce for the markets of the creditor-nations? Surely we have not gold enough to send; then, have we hopes of making commodities suitable to those markets? If so, let us have a clear look at the prospects. What are the commodities we plan to export? We would like to see a list of items and quantities which would, at least problematically and prospectively, suffice to repay the loans, principal and interest.

Judging from the difficulties already felt in the matter of payments, I feel (for my part) that it is a hopeless business. We are trading on the cold war without realizing the consequences

of that rake's progress. I would like to be corrected and consoled. As I see the picture for the future generations, it is not one that inspires confidence in repayment, but one of entire loss of prestige and possibly of independence in the real sense.

December 24, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE NEPAL BREAKDOWN

It is easy to pull an old house down, but not so easy to erect a habitable house over the debris. We have a clear demonstration that driving the Ranas out of power in Nepal, although it was pleasant business when it was done, was not a wise step. India was very instrumental in this.

Of course, there is a philosophy justifying errors and consequent ruin and misery, which claims that only that way lies progress. It is too easily taken for granted that reform is not possible except through the ruinous process of miscalculation and avoidable misery. Leaders prone to idealism but inept in execution indulge in these experiments and give them the name of 'Revolution' and when the consequences are too sad for explanation, indulge in self-pity. The people of Nepal wanted good government and that could have been easily achieved with the help of India. But it was presumed that the people thirsted for parliamentary government in place of the firm rule of the Ranas, and everything was done to destroy the latter, root and branch, leaving a thoroughly mismanaged situation for the world to draw lessons from, and for the communist Powers to manipulate on our borders.

So has Congo demonstrated the same sad truth—that it is not so wise to give up what you have in hopes constructed in

the clouds, with exaggerated notions of democratic capacity, available to take the place of what is destroyed.

A penetrating analysis of the present situation has been furnished by a British correspondent who, after a scathing attack on what the Indian representative of the U.N. Secretary-General and his colleagues are doing in Congo, winds up that the time has come "to end the rudderless neutralism and the artificially preserved anarchy" which prevails in Congo.

December 24, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE PARABLE OF THE ROAD

THE city was full of life. The roads were full of people seeking to move on, vehicles, pedestrians and cyclists.

But everyone was pushing and obstructing everyone else. Everyone was trying to overtake everyone else. There was great shouting and swearing. There were important men commanding "Move on!" "Move on!" But the result was that everyone took up the words and re-shouted, but the pushing, the impeding and the nullification continued. Some weaklings screamed in pain for they were being crushed in the confusion and struggle.

Then an angel came on his wings—the Angel of Progress.

Children of God, do not shout and scream.

All ye that wish to go north, go to the west half of the road. All ye that seek to go south, go to the eastern side.

All vehicles going north, drive on in the western half of the road. Do not overtake one another, unless the vehicle in front deliberately slows down or stops and signs to you to go up. All vehicles going south, drive on the eastern half of the road, drive steadily. If you stop or have to slow down, give a sign to the vehicle behind you to pass you and go on.

Cyclists, do not go abreast, do not try to run club life and chat on the road ; do it all after you have done the journey and your work.

All ye who ride in vehicles or cycles, keep your light burning and don't forget to keep a warning red light behind.

Pedestrians, go north by the western foot pavement and ye that go south, go by the eastern pavement. If you have on the roadside only one foot-path, do not jostle or push or lose temper, wait a while or yield beforehand. Smile as you face anyone.

The Angel's voice was heard. He did not shout angrily but commanded and waited in silence, and spoke again but lapsed into patience again. Soon the road was in order. Everyone was moving. There was no noise, no swearing. It was wonderful to see how everything went on as if there were no difficulties whatsoever.

This is not a chapter on traffic regulation. It is just a parable.

There is great desire for progress, great ambition all round —among people, among government-men, among traders, among workers, among men, among women. There is great energy, there is bubbling life. But there is no noise, hustling, pushing, obstruction, confusion and nullification.

"You have life, God-given life, God-given energy, God-given desire, but regulate it, my children, regulate your desires, regulate your energy, regulate your life, move on, do not try to overtake, give a sign when you slow down and let others pass, go left, go right according to rule : patience and smile, no swearing." Thus says the Angel of Progress.

Not today but He has been saying this all along from the beginning of civilization. The *Isopanishad* says it in its own quaint way.

ईशावास्यमिदꣳ सर्वं यत्किंच जगत्यां जगत् ।

The road belongs to everyone. It is holy ground.

तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ।

Enjoy what God has given you. Do not cast eyes of greed on what others enjoy.

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।
एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥

Work, work, thus alone may you live here on earth. Work, but let not the fruits thereof contaminate your soul with greed or anger, work with detachment : thus may you live, if you will, a hundred years and more, worthily and well.

This is the rule of life's road. Keep the light burning. Do not let the light go out, for then the road will be all dark, and you will be enveloped in confusion and error :

असुर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसाऽवृताः ।
तांस्ते प्रेत्याभिगच्छन्ति ये के चात्महनो जनाः ॥

Do not put out the light by denying the soul. Those who deny the soul kill it and they will wander in dense darkness, not knowing right from wrong, making a hell of this very life by converting the world into a sunless place.

Deny God, deny the soul, and you will be like vehicles without lights on the road in a dark night.

But is there not Morality, though there may be no soul? Yes, the moon may be there though the sun may not be seen. But the light of the moon, you know, is got from the sun, and it wanes and waxes and wanes again and there are a great many clouds that hide the light of the pale moon.—*Kurukshetra.*

December 25, 1960. *Bhavan's Journal*

THOUGHTS ON WORLD PEACE

We have now world peace in a sense—in the sense of there being no war. And, strangely enough, what has most contributed to this 'peace' is the cold war and the armaments race that followed World War II. But this peace cannot be real peace. For not only is it negative, it is felt to be positively as ruinous as war itself and as full of pain, hatred and anxiety.

To say this is perhaps an exaggeration, for as a matter of fact war in this age of Satanic technological development will be much worse, much more ruinous and deadly in every respect than the state of cold war we are in. Of this there is no doubt, unless we want to yield to the temptation of pressing into service an exaggeration to support an argument for a good cause. War will certainly be much worse than the present cold war. So, in a way, we may pray for the continuance of the cold war, if that be indeed the only way to keep off the greater evil.

This appears to be the conviction of the West—undisclosed though it be, but easily perceptible—and its diplomatic stand is based upon it. The great nations, which have taken the largest

share in the building up of the progress of mankind, and their constituted governments have surrendered themselves to a creed of pessimism. They seem to have made up their minds that there can be no global peace except in a world of fancy, except in good men's dreams.

There are, however, some honest people who are not mere dreamers but men of wisdom and commonsense and they believe that there is a way out and that it is wrong to have a closed mind on the subject. These people believe that nationalism is yet in a stage of immaturity where fear is predominant—the fear of losing the freedom which one has acquired after a hard struggle. They also think that there is a real possibility of a World Government and that the various nations will soon accept the reduction of sovereignty that such an order involves, because they will realize that on the balance there is more to gain than to lose.

The way to peace in the real sense, that is the way to end the cold war as well as to keep off the terrible hot war that the cold war has been holding up, is a world federation, together with the disbanding of all national instruments of war—the military forces of all nations, except for the needs of internal policing and the constitution of an adequate and efficient army for suppressing any revolt against the world federation and its authority—and the establishment of world courts for enquiring into and giving binding decisions on all disputes of an international nature, or otherwise falling within a category that calls for the world authority's intervention.

While it is a fact that very hard thinking has been in progress in this direction, a World Government is far from being an actuality yet. And the year which we have gone through has left us all less hopeful about it than ever before. There is no likelihood of a mood of trust descending on the minds of governments, however much people all over the world may desire it and pray for it. It looks as though the governments are installed

in power with an express mandate of distrust and charged with the responsibility of not slackening the continued activities based on suspicion and distrust. It does not seem that there is any likelihood of national sovereignties yielding to any scheme of world federation even in the dim future.

The only advance that is possible and is visible on the horizon is nuclear disarmament. And we have to work in the spirit of "one step is enough for us", leaving the rest to God. In a recent statement Mr. Khrushchov declared : "The Soviet Union is ready to sign a treaty on disarmament and on the destruction of weapons. As to the control over the destruction of weapons and over disarmament, let the United States propose a system of such control. Whatever she proposes we shall accept, because we are for real control and this is in our mutual interest."

It is thus definitely within the range of possibility to conclude a treaty on the issue of nuclear disarmament. But this, in effect, is opposed by American statesmen as they fear that it would leave an imbalance of power and consequently be a danger to peace. Let us hope that this fear and the difficulties caused by it will be overcome by further discussion and clarification.

Having said this, I must make plain my conviction that not until men give full and unqualified homage and fealty to the teachings of Religion can we expect the world to find a way to establish peace on earth. It is only then that we can hope for national pride and national fears to dissolve. It is only then that we can hope for the abandonment, in every quarter, of thoughts of aggression. If we entertain dreams of a World Government, it is essential that we realize the realities taught by Religion. Then alone will we be given the urge as well as the courage needed for submitting to a World Government, without which there can be no peace but only varying types of 'a balance of terror.'

Individual convictions do not always add up to a national policy. There is an element of doubt attached to each individual's convictions and the totality of these doubts prevents those entrusted with the responsibility of governance taking the courage required to give the mass convictions the form of national policy. Thus the convictions and desires of individuals, widespread though they may be, do not always become State policy. But, at the same time, it is undoubtedly true that there is no passage to national policy except through individual convictions prevalent on a wide scale. And a national policy can be enforced with courage only if the convictions are supplemented by deep religious sentiment. Individual religious convictions, when they assume national dimensions, can produce the courage required for a State policy of peace. It is worthwhile, therefore, if we desire world peace, to revive and enforce the call of Religion besides spreading the truths that must be grasped for producing intellectual convictions. Otherwise, governments will go on with the policies of the cold war even while all people are ardently attached to the ideas of real peace. Never before have the teachings of the saints and men of God been so relevant as now, in this socalled atomic age.

December 25, 1960 *The Illustrated Weekly of India*

WANTED REAL TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

"WHAT this country—or any democratic country—needs is one party which holds things steady and a second which shoves things along. Neither should be crazily radical or stupidly stationary. If they understand each other's language and are moderately patient about each other's ways, they can go on for years—even generations—supplementing each other's efforts as British Conservatives and Liberals used to do."

Thus columnist William E. Bohn of *The New Leader* correctly summarizes the political wisdom of decades of modern experience. He says this in emphasizing the need for a change in American politics. He is not happy with the present two-party structure system in America which divides votes between the Democratic and the Republican parties. The real necessity "for this campaign-battered country," he says, "is a genuine, blown-in-the-bottle Conservative Party". He does not think that the Republican Party has been filling the required role. Mere clannism is not a two-party system. The Congress Party in India may be opposed to the Communist Party in India. But it is just tribal warfare, not that counter-balance of approach which democracy needs.

'Progress' cannot be wise unless balanced by a spirit of conservatism. The two functions cannot be combined in the same party, although each group may claim to do it in the desire to hold exclusive power. If we do not have true balance we shall find industry and labour not pulling in a team; we shall not have a sound money policy; we shall be where we are today in India, on the road to a terrain where we shall not know what to do and will depend perforce on foreign 'advice', irresistible advice coming from the wise men of creditor-countries.

The two counter-balancing forces in modern politics should both be led by leaders, capable of learning from each other.

History has records to demonstrate that one of the biggest fallacies of critics and analysts is to ascribe views to birth and education, without taking proper count of acquired wisdom born of experience and reflection. 'High-born' men have very often been radical and 'plebeians' have been conservative. The true vitamin of progress is responsiveness. The enemy of progress is obstinacy.

A real two-party system would alone furnish the healthy opportunity for beneficent osmosis. There would be no osmosis but meaningless dilution if we cut out the dividing membrane.

We in India would be committing the greatest mistake if we deem the Congress and the communist parties to be a balancing system that can support the working of democracy. Both have hitched their wagons to all-round State control. Individual incentive and freedom must be powerfully represented by a political party led by wise and good men. Otherwise, enterprise will be choked. There can be no national progress without the fullest freedom and encouragement for individual enterprise. Bureaucratic trade and industry, for which both the Congress and communists stand, will lead the country into a morass. The bureaucrats will draft beautiful apologies and explanations for every tragedy, but the suffering people cannot live on such explanations.

December 31, 1960 *Swarajya*

THE GERMAN VERDICT

मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ।

—*Isopanishad*

The free society is not to be built on envy.

—Lionel Robbins

A Humane Economy is the title of a recent book by Wilhelm Ropke.* This internationally acclaimed economist leads an epic attack against the economy and polity which the present Government of India have unfortunately adopted as the panacea for all our ills.

As against socialism, Wilhelm Ropke champions an economic order ruled by freedom in the shape of free prices and free markets. He explains how this is the only economic order compatible

* *A Humane Economy* by Wilhelm Ropke translated into English by Elizabeth Henderson : Henry Regnary : Chicago, 1960.

with human freedom, and with the rule of law, the fundamental conditions without which life can have no meaning or dignity. People may be led by humane convictions to declare themselves in sympathy with socialism, but they fail to see what this ultimately means. It means a social and economic order which destroys human freedom.

The technique of socialism is economic planning, nationalization, the erosion of property, and the cradle-to-the-grave welfare State. The irrefutable testimony of the last fifteen years shows that the technique of the age-old free economy leads to well-being, freedom, the rule of law, and the more even distribution of power, and to international co-operation.

There is profound ethical reason why an economy governed by free prices, free markets and free competition implies moral health and plenty, while the socialist economy means moral sickness, disorder, and lower productivity. The free economic system releases and utilizes the forces inherent in individual self-assertion. The socialist system suppresses them and wears itself out in opposing inherent natural forces. A government which, in peace time, relies on exchange control, price control, and confiscatory taxation has little, if any, more moral justification than the individual who, as against it, defends himself by circumventing or breaking the law. Economic policy should be adopted to man, not man to economic policy. This is humane as well as politically wise. The socialist intellectuals suffer from the *libido dominandi* and nurse open or secret ambitions to occupy positions of command in the economic system they moralise for. Their eye is on power, while they pretend compassion.

The socialist ideal is marked by mass and concentration. Individual responsibility, life and thought are to be smothered. It wants collective thought and feeling. The small circles—from the family up—with their human warmth and natural solidarity have to give way before mass and concentration, before the rootless amorphous conglomeration of people in cities and industrial

centres, before the anonymous bureaucracy of giant concerns, and ultimately of government which holds this crumbling mass together through the coercive machinery of the welfare State, the police and the tax screw. The home is to be substituted by the street. As against this, we ought to stand up for decentralization and de-proletarianization. People need to be taken out of the mass and given roots again. We shall save ourselves only if more and more of us "have the courage to take counsel with our own souls in the midst of the socialist and planning bustle and to bethink ourselves of the firm, enduring and proved truths of life". It is in this religious conviction that Wilhelm Ropke writes this book.

Communism has had its day. As a spiritual and moral power it is certainly on the decline. The external military power of the leading communist States is no doubt greater than before. But if we correctly interpret developments in satellite countries as well as in Russia itself, we can see that the communist faith and appeal have entered a phase of decline. But though it is a fact that the star of communism as a substitute for religion is declining, we have the development of a new Gorgon's head. What we have to fear is the communism of the non-communist governments, the creeping inflation and the psychological deterioration closely connected with inflation in States following the welfare State policy in their apprehensions about communism to success at the polls. Personal comforts are more highly rated than freedom, law, and personality. The individual means less and less, mass and collectivity more and more, the net of servitude which hems in personal development in the welfare State becomes ever denser, more closely meshed and inescapable. The centre of gravity of decisions keeps shifting upwards from the individual, the family and the small compact group up to anonymous institutions. The power of the State grows uncontrollably. Demagogy and pressure groups turn politics into the art of finding the way of least resistance and immediate expediency or into a device for channelling other people's money to one's own group. Law and the principles of law become uncertain.

Once the individual had an inalienable right to life, liberty and property. But today in the 'free world', the last named pillar is badly dilapidated. Few realize that its fall would pull down the pillar of liberty as well. The remaining pillar, the right to the inviolability of life cannot long stand alone. If property is degraded into precarious *de facto* possession depending on the whim of government or on the voters' favour, if property becomes a hostage in the hands of those who own less or nothing, if property together with its inseparable concomitant, the law of inheritance, ceases to be one of the primary rights which need no other justification than that of *dharma*, then the end of free society is in sight.

No great perspicacity is needed to recognize the close kinship between lack of respect for property and indifference to the value of money. Erosion of property and erosion of money go together. Resistance to this process of deterioration has been successful in Switzerland, Belgium, Italy and Germany. These have extricated themselves from the morass of inflation and economic controls. The striking success of Germany in this direction is met with silence among the protagonists of controls, or with statistical juggling. Arguments are brought up by some that currency reform and Marshall Aid were the 'good fairies' rather than the market economy, or that it was all due to the special fact that Germans were a hard-working, frugal and thrifty people. These evasive explanations have all been set at rest. The German success with the market economy has put collectivism on the defence. The German recovery is due to the courage and good sense which liberated the economy from the fetters of planning which had hampered or paralyzed the incentive and regulatory effects of free prices and free competition. As a result of the German success, nationalization and planning, the catch phrases of the immediate post-war period, have lost their appeal, and even in the socialist camp the response is now weak where the voters are intelligent and mature.

Economic freedom like any other freedom requires eternal vigilance. As Goethe said, it must be conquered anew each

day. "Residues of collectivism like unexploded mines are lying scattered about even in the countries liberated from controls." People are still in the habit of taking refuge in official regulations whenever a new problem turns up. They still tend in the name of economic and social security, to heap new tasks on the government and thereby new burdens on the tax-payer. Again and again we see ourselves cheated of the hope of reducing to tolerable limits the crushing weight of taxation, which in the long run is incompatible with a free or even moderately sound economy and society. The Government's budgets seek to absorb a high percentage of the national income through various kinds of compulsory contributions. This reinforces inflationary pressure and has a disintegrating and ultimately paralyzing effect on the economy. Households and firms make financial decisions with an eye towards the tax-collector rather than towards the consumers and the market. Incentive is weakened at all levels and in all spheres. "Saving is depressed below the level necessary to finance growth-investment without inflationary credit-expansion. The rate of interest loses its essential efficacy, because as a cost factor it takes second place after tax payments." The combination of over-expansion of public expenditure and the re-orientation of its purposes in socialist directions constitutes a source of continuous inflationary pressure.

The Government, spurred by the vested interests of the civil service, tries to acquire more and more management of industries and trade, and seeks to create strongholds of public power, monopoly and party patronage. It fosters an irrational, hostile attitude towards everything that goes by the name of capital or entrepreneur, with a stubborn misconception of the latter's task and the conditions in which he can function.

Concentration is the great evil of our times : concentration of the power of government and administration, concentration of economic and social power under the State, concentration of decision and responsibility which become thereby more and more anonymous, unchallengeable and inscrutable, concentration of

people in organizations, towns and industrial centres, and firms and factories. The common denomination of the social disease of our times is concentration. Collectivism and totalitarianism are the extreme lethal stages of the disease. The bloated Colossus of the State, with its crushing taxation and boundless expenditure, is chiefly to blame for the inflation that is a chronic evil of our times.

An excess of government intervention deflecting the national market economy from the paths prescribed by competition and price mechanism, an accumulation of prohibitions and commands, the blunting of incentives, official price-fixing and restrictions on primary economic freedom necessarily lead to mistakes, bottlenecks, inefficiency and failure of performances, and imbalances of all kinds. With the proliferation of intervention, they end up in general chaos. The disturbances caused by intervention are taken as proof of the inadequacy of intervention and become a pretext for yet more and stronger intervention.

Wilhelm Ropke quotes from Tocqueville who saw what was coming :

> The government covers the surface of society with a network of complicated rules, minute and uniform, through which the most original minds and the most energetic characters cannot penetrate, to rise above the crowd. The will of man is softened, bent and guided. Men are not forced by it to act, but they are constantly restrained from acting. It does not destroy, but it prevents existence It does not tyrannize but it compresses, enervates, extinguishes and stupefies a people, till the nation is reduced to nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals of which the government is the shepherd.

The dominating motive of the welfare State today is not compassion but envy. The language of the old paternal government is becoming a screen that hides the new crusade against anything which dares exceed the average, be it income, wealth or performance. In the name of economic equality and to the accompaniment of the progressive blunting of individual respon-

sibility a substantial part of private income is constantly sucked into the pumping engine of the welfare State and diverted by it with considerable friction-losses. Everything into the same pot, everything out of the same pot—this is the ideal.

The individual and his sense of responsibility constitute the secret mainspring of society, and this mainspring is being broken by the welfare State. " It is surely the mark of a sound society,' says Ropke, "that the centre of gravity of decision and responsibility lies midway between the two extremes of individual and State, within genuine and small communities of which the most indispensable primary and natural unit is the family. And surely it is our task to encourage the development of the great variety of small and medium communities and thereby of group assistance within circles which still have room for voluntary action, a sense of responsibility and human contact and which avoid the cold impersonality of mass social services."

If the State increasingly takes upon itself to hand out welfare and security on all sides, first to the advantage of one group, then of another, it must degenerate into an institution which fosters moral disintegration and prepares its own eventual doom.

People do not always realize that when they turn to the State for the fulfilment of their wishes, their claims can be satisfied only at the expense of others. A money claim on the State is always an indirect claim on somebody else whose taxes contribute to the sum demanded. It is a mere transfer of purchasing power through the medium of the compulsory powers of the State. The more widely the principle of the welfare State is applied, the closer comes the moment when the giant pumping engine turns out to be a deceiver of everybody and becomes an end in itself, which eventually serves no one except those who make a living out of its manipulation, namely, the bureaucrats. These naturally have an interest in obscuring the facts.

Today the time of illusions is past. It has become clear and it is widely realized, especially in Great Britain, that if one seri-

ously wishes to put the welfare State into practice, one has to use taxation to stir up income distribution at all levels and has to draw even on the lowest income groups to help finance the cost (through indirect taxes as in this country, if it is impossible to levy direct taxes on the poor). The money is conjured up from people's right pocket into their left with a detour *via* the treasury and the enormous friction-losses entailed thereby.

"It has become clear that there is a price to be paid in the form of costs of the ever-increasing State machinery, of a blunting of the will to work and of individual responsibility. Vexation at the top and envy at the bottom choke civic sense, public spirit, creative leisure, neighbourliness, generosity and genuine sense of community. What will remain is the pumping engine of Leviathan, the insatiable modern State."

The welfare State must be dismantled except for an indispensable minimum and the money thus saved left to non-governmental forms of social services. The party in power wants the machinery of the welfare State to remain so that through that machine it may perpetuate itself at the cost of the tax-payer. We have to defeat this partisan purpose. We cannot give up economic freedom and hope to save other freedoms. Market economy and the revitalization of *vaisya dharma* are what will activate economy and preserve human freedom. Wilhelm Ropke does not use this Indian term, but this is exactly the code of ethics which he pleads for, describing it in Western terminology.

It is not poverty that leads a nation to communism, but the break-up of traditional values. And this condition is being rapidly brought about by the present rulers of India.

December 31, 1960 *Swarajya*

MATERIALIST PHILOSOPHY

LIFE is just attraction and repulsion, says the materialist as ironically described in one of the greatest of the scriptures of the world, the *Bhagavad Gita.* Like quick-lime on which water is poured, like potassium or sodium burning in water and splitting it, all life is a phenomenon of attraction and repulsion of matter, and there is nothing beyond the material, although sometimes something looks wonderful and different from matter. This is the materialist's position.

As a matter of fact this identification of material with spiritual phenomena, is no detraction of the spiritualist position. The materialist and his ally the scientist constantly seek to prove that spirit is matter. But, on the other side, there is a chuckle. Because if spirit is proved to be matter, the proof that matter is spirit is also progressing simultaneously. Those who believe in God and spirituality do not distinguish and isolate the material from the spiritual world. God, they believe, is in the material atom. It is God, they assert, that holds matter together and divides it sometimes. Water, light, sound, all these and other things, atoms, waves and quantums, are as spiritual and dependent on the universal almighty Power as the things of the spirit, so distinguished and recognized. The Rshis looked on the water drops and the evermoving air as manifestations of God and offered humble worship to every form and manifestation of that Power including tangible things. In their view the wonderful results of experiments and successful explorations into the laws of matter are all hymns to the Spirit that governs the universe. Thomas Henry Huxley, famous agnostic, when charged with being a materialist said in answer :

> Legitimate materialism, the extension of the conceptions and of the methods of physical science to the highest as well as the lowest phenomena of vitality, is neither more nor less than a sort of shorthand (reverse) idealism.

A candle burning and the sun shining, a Sankaracharya's thoughts and a computer that adds up at a shop-counter, are all manifestations of the same Power and the same Law. The victories of science are victories for religion if we understand Huxley's paradox quoted earlier.

The old stupid attacks on icon-worship and on pantheism were based on a misconception of the faith of the prophets and the Rshis. The Satan complex of semitic faiths is at the bottom of the objection to icons. It is believed that the icon competes with God as Satan did. Even if the objection be that images distract the attention of the devotee, it is groundless. Every holy symbol helps. Not a blade of grass nor an atom of hydrogen but is a manifestation of God. Put Bhakti and vision into it, and it becomes a *lingam* for worship of the Almighty. If God is immanent in all things, why should we not offer worship with an icon before us ? The daiy *sandhya* of the Hindus includes the sprinkling of water on one's head and a prayer in which worship is offered to the drops of water, and reverent tributes are paid to this liquid manifestation of God. If there is no God but matter and you make it omnipotent—that is exactly what the pious man does, though in reverse form. It is not detraction or denial, but an odd way of enunciating the religious faith about the immanence of God, if the scientists put infinite power into the material atom. An automatic machine is a wonderful thing, but it does not reduce or negative the wonder of the laws of nature that make and uphold the machine's work. And so also if the laws of nature are wonderful, they do not reduce but enhance the wonder of the great Law behind those laws, to which we give the name, God. Matter is wonderful, and beholding that wonder, the believers believe.

January 1961 *Vedanta Kesari*

INFLATION : CAUSES AND MEANING

Rise in prices and in cost of living is the result of an unbalanced and unwise increase in the supply of money, and not so much on account of shortage of goods or on account of the demand of higher wages by workers.

In the United States, for instance, charts have been prepared by economist experts showing how the cost of living and commodity prices have steadily kept rising along with the volume of the currency, and quite independently of the volume of production of commodities. *The Newsweek* charts show that between 1939 and 1959 consumer prices increased by 113 per cent and wholesale prices increased by 136 per cent, the supply of money during that period having increased by 270 per cent. The index of industrial production was 177 per cent *higher* in 1959 than in 1939. In spite of the rate of production of goods being nearly three times greater, wholesale prices more than doubled themselves, rising by 136 per cent during the same period. It is thus clear the villain of the piece is not shortfall of production but excess of money supply.

To attribute inflation to higher wage demands is also wrong. It would be a fallacious reversing of the cause and effect sequence. Higher wage demands are only another name for higher price of labour. All prices rise as a result of the increased supply of money owing to government budget policy, and increase in wage demands is only one example of rising prices, labour being a 'commodity' like other commodities for which a price has to be paid. Unless the demand for higher wages is altogether an unreasonable one, not based on higher cost of living, a higher wage demand cannot be included among the inflationary causes.

When a political party in command of the State spends increased amounts on schemes intended to bring in more votes

from particular groups and help to perpetuate its rule, the supply of additional currency to fill the gap caused by increased public expenditure raises the prices of all the goods which the community purchases. The doles and subsidies are given at the cost of those who pay direct and indirect taxes, including the very people who imagine they get special benefits.

Those whose money-incomes have not been raised by the government are forced to pay higher prices. Previous savings are all reduced in value, wherever they may have been deposited or held. The victims of inflation resent the gain which some sections make as a result of the same inflation. The new distribution of incomes is felt not to be the result of merit or effort but of political favouritism or speculation. Class and group hatreds increase in consequence. And this is further accentuated by the classes who gain by inflation, spending their gains ostentatiously. The quick and easy gains resulting from inflation tend to increase the indulgence in speculation, display and corruption.

Inflation is not an evil visitation from without. It is the result of deliberate governmental policy. As a result of inflation, even gilt-edged holdings go down in value, and men are cheated without their knowing it. The U.S. Government today is paying off in dollars worth 47 cents each, what it borrowed in 1940 in 100 cent dollars. The same, or worse, is the case in India where the rupee has fallen nearly five times below the old value.

January 7, 1961 *Swarajya*

FAST UNTO DEATH

It is most regrettable that the claim of the Sikhs for a Punjabi Suba with the same autonomy as other linguistic areas have been given, as a result of the re-organization of States, has been met not only with obstinate denial but with repressive measures striking heavily against the freedom of association and expression, and the rule of law. The situation has been rendered very grave and explosive by the Sikh leader's decision to fast unto death as the last and only non-violent weapon available to a people when the Government has turned the deaf ear to all other appeals.

I do not approve but I can understand the decision to resort to this weapon of self-immolation. A brave people irritated to the point of rebellion, cannot be controlled by its responsible leaders except by such an offer to court death. One would wish that these fasts unto death had been discouraged in the past, but the fatal fashion has been set irreparably. And in this case, the popular emotion and the Government's attitude almost justify the extreme step. I appeal to the authorities most earnestly to look beyond their nose and intervene in time. The Sikhs ask for a State with all its limitations in the Union, with a boundary that automatically provides for a more than 40 per cent opposition to any unjust rule by force of majority, not to speak of other constitutional safeguards against misrule.

The Union Government has had to tolerate and do many things, deviating from its ideals and slogans. There is no reason why a brave and martial people on one of the vital frontiers of India, who have served the cause of liberty and progress on more than one occasion in an exemplary manner, should be marked out for adverse discrimination in respect of the socalled linguistic formula. I do hope the Government will intervene in time

to save the situation. We have seen the harmful consequences arising out of the linguistic division of India that has been given effect to throughout India; well considered, comprehensive measures may be taken later on to counteract them. But it is a grave mistake to discriminate only against the claim for a State around the Punjabi language.

(Rajaji issued the above press statement on 30th December last.)

January 7, 1961 *Swarajya*

DHOTIES AND SAREES

APART from tea and jute, the really exportable manufacture of India lies in the textile line. But our present Government is unwilling to make the necessary adjustment between the mill production and the handloom industry. The latter is eminently fit to meet the local demand for cloth and the former is capable of being canalised into cloth fit for foreign markets. If a reservation in favour of handloom products were made in the local market, and the mills helped to manufacture for export abroad instead of for competition against the handloom industry, there would be sense in government's policy. It would give needed relief to the millions of families dependent on the handloom and help India to find substantial foreign exchange to reduce the payments gap. Instead of this, a curious and pathetic attempt is made to manufacture and export handmade goods to America. After the first novelty was over, American demand has disappeared and the handloom weavers are now in great distress. They were encouraged and misled to make a large quantity of a certain type of cloth, which was thought to be saleable in America, and a huge quantity of it—which is unwanted in India—

lies idle. These weavers are urging the Government to buy up the cloth and force it on unwilling lower grade public servants.

This is a mess created by the Government and its misinformed officials. The real solution is to direct handloom production to concentrate on *dhoties* and *sarees* and reserve for the handloom weavers the market for this traditional wear of men and women in our country—instead of building castles in the air by way of finding an American market for our handloom products. For tens of thousands of years these weavers have been supplying what the men and women in our country wanted, and would still be glad to wear. Wisdom consists in reserving the Indian market, as far as these traditional varieties go, in favour of the handloom, and canalising the mill production for maximum utilization for export to foreign markets, without competing with handloom products and causing widespread distress among the cottage weavers. The rebates and subsidies planned to relieve the distress of the cottage weavers serve no good purpose. The bulk of the weavers are not reached; only the cooperative societies and their 'closed shops' benefit. The cooperative societies have not capital enough to cover more than a third of the cottage weavers and they do not really encourage or permit enlargement of their membership. There is a good deal of fraud going on under cover of these rebates. The all-round mess must be cleared by a change of policy.

The mills must be told not to imitate the handloom *dhoti* and *saree* and asked to produce tailoring cloth, both of such varieties as are required to supplement the handloom production in the local market and for export to foreign countries. There is no doubt our textile industry is capable of competing with production abroad in the latter varieties.

January 7, 1961 *Swarajya*

RURAL WAGE-EARNERS' PLIGHT

The condition of a section of the people computed generally as 20 per cent of the total population, viz., those who live in the rural area, who depend on the opportunities for labour in the biggest industry in the country, viz., agriculture, has considerably worsened all round, according to the findings of the special official committee which enquired into the matter. This has been sadly commented on in the press and is causing all-round melancholy musings.

Land in our villages furnishes occupation not only to owners and tenants but to a large number of villagers living round about, who have no proprietory or leasehold rights in the land. That the condition of these people who work as rural wage-earners has deteriorated since 1950 may cause surprise to statisticians. But to those who have anxiously watched, and vainly tried to curb the tempo of changes in the land laws which compulsorily settled the relations between owners and tenants, it will not cause surprise. Politically-motivated changes in the land laws, ignoring the traditional structure of the agricultural industry in the country and doing away with the binding character of contracts and the sacredness of property, have led to a considerable worsening of the occupational opportunities of the landless classes in the countryside.

The 'reformers' have gone all out to rob the owners of land of their rights as owners, and placed their tenants in a dominant position against them, without any respect for contracts and independently of the consent of the proprietors. The larger the area owned, the lesser have become the rights of the owners, and the greater the precariousness of their enjoyment of their own land. This is the pattern of all recent land reforms, done with an eye on the ballot-box. Urban land has gone up in value but ownership of village land, the real sources of food production in

the country, has become an uncertain and undependable avocation. Apart from the uncertainties of the monsoon, the tyranny of ever-changing laws manufactured in the chambers of demagogues and calendared in the legislatures, has become an additional factor that makes the ownership of agricultural land an uncertain and unpleasant job, and one that prudence requires abandoning as early as possible in favour of a bank account or house property in one of the big towns. The result is that land has practically gone, by mere force of legal changes, into the hands of irremovable tenants who do not care to employ labour. The poorest among the working classes have been badly hit.

Few policies can be so irrational as the Congress Party's persistent adherence to the plan of putting a ceiling on the area of agricultural land that can be held by an owner-farmer. The party does not think of putting a ceiling on other forms of property. It is not contended that the yield of food-grains will be better as a result of this ceiling on agricultural holdings. If it is really so contended, it would be an entirely groundless contention. On the contrary, the food production will go down as a result of this policy. The expropriation of 'surplus' land above this ceiling is to be clothed with constitutionality by a pretence of compensation being given. For instance, as journalist Salivateeswaran has pointed out in his latest letter dealing in particular with the Maharashtra land ceiling measure, the compensation clause in it gives Rs. 900 per acre for land whose market value is known to range between Rs. 4,500 and Rs. 5,000 per acre.

Fragmentation due to enlargement of the owner families has been added to and accelerated by fragmentation due to the laws. Now, all fragmentation tends to oust free labour. It reduces the chances offered to the local inhabitants to get wage-earning work in the several agricultural processes. The extinguishment of the larger owners of land has resulted in a closed shop' for the local labouring population. Just as, if in a frenzy of envy all the bigger industrial concerns were ordered

to be closed down, wage-earners would be hit, agricultural labour has been hit by the land 'reforms'. The lowest strata of the rural population, including, of course, the Harijan population, are the worst sufferers in the consequences created by these land 'reforms' which have been undertaken ever since Independence, with an eye to the ballot-box. Depriving rural labour of its traditional opportunities, the vote-hunters have been doping the sophisticated section of these classes with various concessions and tempting promises of land ownership, which it is needless to go into in detail in this connection. The leaders of the Harijans, unfortunately, look to the betterment of the sophisticated section of their people and do not seem to understand or care as to what happens to the rest and the larger body of their people. So sure is the ruling party of the success of these schemes of deception, and of the power of money arising out of levies made on the industrial managers under their thumb, that the only electioneering propaganda now adopted by them is "we shall surely succeed; other parties have no money and no power to spread themselves out effectively in the countryside and therefore they have no chances of success". There is no attempt to explain or defend policies, but prediction as to coming success at the polls is the main argument. The idea is that the Indian electorate will vote only for a party that will succeed, right or wrong.

It is no surprise that as a result of the land reforms wrongly so called, the bulk of the poor people in the country have got into deep debt and their income per head has considerably diminished. When the average income is very low, a reduction in it by even a few paisas is a terrible misfortune. And the latest official agricultural labour enquiry report shows a great decline per head. Under-employment and unemployment have increased. Unemployed days rose from 90 in 1951 to 128 in 1957. Wage rates have gone down for men from 108 nP to 96 nP. The total indebtedness of this section of the population has been computed to have risen from Rs. 80 crores in 1950 to Rs. 143 crores in 1956. The percentage of indebted households has

gone up from 45 to 64. The indebtedness would have been greater but for drawings on past savings and assistance from relations working abroad and otherwise employed. The deficit in the domestic budgets of these people is stated to be as high as Rs. 180 per year per household. Converting these figures into their human meaning, the misery of the rural population (excepting those who happen to be the favourites of land legislation, viz., tenants) can be imagined. We shall soon hear of family planning drives and of reforms to fix a floor wage rate for agricultural labour. Legislative compulsion is no cure for economic phenomena. Compulsion cannot tackle such matters. It would only lead to nation-wide fraud and further misery, and a yet greater fall in food production with all its consequence on the life of the people.

Natural laws can never be met by legislative coercion. People must revise their notions of the functions of those who own land and the necessary part they play in social economy. Treating them as enemies of society, and ousting them from their place in the economy, has led to the worsening of the condition of those who depended on the opportunities of being employed by them on wages. Land does not merely give an income to the owner. It also provides employment to those who depend on wage-earning. Before the industrialization of the country's economy has taken place in adequate measure, so as to absorb the labour of the rural classes and before any new rural schemes are put into execution such as will absorb local unskilled labour, all action directed towards fragmentation of land and the breaking up of the larger estates, and transfer of Peter's rights to Paul, on the ground that Paul has a larger quantum of vote-potential, is detrimental to the life of the main population in the countryside. The agricultural labour committee's report has made this plain.

January 7, 1961 *Swarajya*

RIVALRIES IN CONGRESS PARTY

We have had more than one Niagara of verbosity at Bhavnagar, and the speeches there have been reproduced at full length in the papers for the benefit of those who did not go there. The richness of the English language and its power of balancing thoughts, on both sides of any question, were amply demonstrated by apt students of the English language who led the oratorical displays at the Congress meeting. There were shrieking calls for unity by men who did, and are doing, their worst for dividing people not on religious grounds, but in their daily work creating class conflicts which have far more baneful results in our country today than religious and caste differences, to which these have been added; there was a call for giving up 'power politics' by persons whose one occupation by day and dreams during night is how to retain such influence and 'power' as have come to them by force of circumstances.

Congress leaders are concerned about the growing 'indiscipline' in the Congress which is regarded as far more serious than the publicly admitted climate of corruption. Incompetent shepherds and incompetent schoolmasters are naturally more concerned about rebellion against them than about anything else. Power depends on obedience. Indiscipline is the deadly terror of those whose ambition is power and who use party politics for that purpose. The ambitious Congress leaders at the top fail to see that the more power they organize for the Congress Party and its Government, the greater the rivalry in sharing it. Human beings (and especially congressmen) being what they are, the greater the unconstitutional and undisclosed profit, the fiercer the jealousies and rivalries in the sharing of it.

A leading newspaper which bestows equal attention to considered criticism and to the task of purveying news, and which is by no means an unfriendly journal to the Congress Party, has

summarized the case thus : "The root cause of the trouble is the pre-occupation of most congressmen with power politics instead of with the numerous tasks of nation-building, which cry out for honest leadership and sustained energy. The real problem for the Congress is that it has too large a number of professional politicians who have no other occupation except playing the political game". The paper proceeds to make it more explicit by saying that these people have nothing to do between elections except 'peddling political influence and patronage', indeed what I said at Chandigarh to which the Andhra Assembly Speaker took objection. Finally the paper ends its editorial with this verdict : "So long as this element dominates the Congress organization at various levels, there is little prospect of its escaping the evils of power politics and group rivalries within the party".

Two fundamental points not touched by the editorial article quoted from, would be relevant in any critical survey of the Congress Party's defects and difficulties. Not only the Congress Party but any party that happens to run government will be in the same difficulty so long as human nature is what it is, and so long as parties are composed of average men. The greater the power seized by government over individual life and occupation, the greater the temptations to corruption and internal rivalries in the parliamentary party that is in office. The remedy lies, therefore, in reducing to the minimum the State's power in matters material and enlarging the scope for individual energy and enterprise untrammelled by authority. Herein lies the ultimate and real preventive of all that goes by the frustration-nomenclature of indiscipline, group rivalry, power politics and the like. There is no cure or preventive for power politics except reduction of governmental power, the elimination of controls, permits, licences, and all the annoying regulations that end up in giving unearned advantages to favoured people and corresponding harassment to all others.

The other fundamental point is that political leadership, like every other leadership, does not consist in the art of cultivating

popularity but in right guidance. There is only one rule for those on whom lies the duty of guiding national life, to do what one believes to be good and to spare no trouble in the doing of it. Once one gives this up and, instead, begins to discover and follow what is supposed to be popular desire, one is on the road to grievous error, and a leader's error is more grievous in its consequences than that of others.

January 14, 1961 *Swarajya*

CENTRALISM

THE temptation of centralism, mechanical perfection and uniformity at the expense of freedom, has been great at all times. Once the mania for uniformity and centralization spreads and the centralists begin to lay down the law of the land, then we are in the presence of danger. It is always easier to widen the powers of the State than to curtail them. With the diminution of individual independence, as a great thinker has observed, intrigue, place-hunting, informing, ill-will, bootlicking, envy, jealousy, and all the other poisons spread like the plague. With the fatal disease of concentration spreading, those in whose hands the threads converge have a task which simply exceeds human nature, and they commit great and fatal mistakes. The battle of Swatantra in India is both against centralization and against Statism. The two evils are branches of the same folly, the same *libido dominandi.* The desire to dominate produces both forms of centralization, Statism in general and centralism against the States that make up the Union. When once authority falls in the hands of a national hero, and power has done its work in corrupting the mind, there is no limit to appetite. Centralization and uniformity have the same meaning everywhere, but in India these policies hit harder than in small countries. Here the States lose to the Centre over and above the individuals losing

to the State. In this vast area where customs and tenures and cultures have grown in variety, and continued to stay for centuries, uniformity is stupidity as well as tyranny. A single political party is steadily seeking to convert the Union into a unitary State.

Paradoxically, by the unfortunate policy of striking English down, and seeking to enthrone in its place a language which cannot ascend the steps to that high seat, an anti-unitary force is also set on foot, that of fragmentation of the nation into fractions entrenching themselves behind twenty local tongues. Centralization is bad but this together with linguistic isolation is worse. Isolation without power or responsibility is unadulterated folly.

January 14, 1961 *Swarajya*

REVOLT AGAINST CODDLING

MR. Shyam Sundar, a Harijan member of the Mysore Assembly and President of the All-India Depressed Classes Association, has dared to give expression to an unpleasant truth. He has publicly complained, on the first working day of the new year, that the communal policy followed by the Congress governments is resulting in the "banishment of merit and intelligence from the educational institutions and the administration". In the name of reservation for scheduled castes and other socalled backward classes, he says, the Congress Government is 'annihilating' from the administration the real intellectuals and that those in power put one community against the other so that "they can cling to office". This is truly the dawn of a new era of wisdom and reason among those who had been terribly doped and deceived till now. Let us hope and trust this new-found truth will not be a victim to blind prejudice and anger. The concessions that are dangled before the backward classes are calculated to keep

them ever in a lower status, so that they may continue to serve as camp-followers and keep the ruling party in perpetual office. It is time that these classes should revolt against this degrading programme of exploitation. When Dr. Ambedkar agreed to a time limit to these concessions, he had this evil in mind. Nothing would please his spirit now more than this symbol of revolt which Mr. Shyam Sundar has raised.

January 14, 1961 *Swarajya*

NO ANSWER TO MY QUESTION

When State ministers agitate for a greater share of the Plan 'funds' and the Centre graciously promises these to each State, is one to laugh or grieve? One sees what State autonomy has come to, and must deplore this perversion of the Constitution. There are no funds except what are raised by additional taxes direct and indirect, by additional borrowings from abroad, to repay which we should be taxed again, and by additional printing of notes and consequent depreciation of values all round—an unseen confiscation of past earnings and a lowering of the rupee value in future receipts of rupees either as salary or wages or interest, and repayment of 'gilt edge' investments. We play political pressures to share not in grants out of surplus money but in sharing these consequences, imagining we get *baksheesh* from the gracious Central Government. The delusion were really amusing if it had not such painful consequences.

Mr. B. K. Nehru, the only residuary now in our Finance Ministry, possessing knowledge as distinguished from briefs received from secretariat officials (to be read with appropriate gestures), has confirmed the prospective debt position. We have to borrow at the annual rate of Rs. 500 crores during the next ten years. Let us assume we shall find the creditors by pressing

the cold war to its utmost, by saying this is the only way to keep India from going off democracy and falling a prey to Soviet god-fatherhood. Let us assume that this additonal Rs. 5,000 crores liability will come by the grace of the West. I ask for the eleventh time, what is the plan to repay and free ourselves from this debt? Must everything be planned, except the repayment of the loans we take? Whether we plan it or not, the debts have to be repaid either in commodities which are really saleable in America and Europe, or in national honour, prestige and freedom. Freedom takes many forms as the times pass and the loss of freedom too has many shapes which it can assume. Does the Congress Party which speaks so loud and pretends to understand and believe in the Plan, has any notion as to how this Rs. 5,000 crores and interest can be made up for in jute, tea and any of the old exports that we know, and in bicycles, sewing machines or pumps or motor cars or ships (or what else?) which we can dream we can make, better and cheaper than what British, American or European consumers are able to find in their own production? Or are we going to make artistic handloom cloth or curios, or sell our temple images and sculptures, and repay these debts? Nothing can be more abusrd than such fond thoughts.

It is very nice to talk of Rs. 12,000 crores, of which the bureaucracy will manage Rs. 8,000 crores (never mind the waste) and leave the rest to competing favourites in the 'private' sector to whom permits and licences will be issued. But how will the nation pay back the Rs. 12,000 crores *plus* interest?

Our Nasik money (whatever the latest designs) cannot be depended on for this. We must know what gold we can dig out or what modern articles we can prepare, and hawk to the prospective sophisticated consumers of those goods in Western countries. Let us be told about this, and then we can say the Plan is a plan—not till then.

I repeat what I have said before, it would have been relatively wiser to ask the capitalists of Ameriea and Britain to invest

in India in partnership with venturesome Indians (and there were many who were and still are eager for it) and let this amount of Rs. 12,000 crores come into India that way, and not *via* the national Government, in which case the risk and the responsibility, and the task of management, would be theirs and would be exceedingly well done and borne without burdening the people with fresh direct or indirect taxes or with the prospect of bankruptcy. Progress and prosperity would have easily come that way, although it may not have fed the megalomania of the ruling clique.

To my question, ' What is your plan of repayment ? ' there is no answer but the *non-sequitor* statement that all successful people borrow in the world of business. It is true they all borrow, but they borrow with a plan of repayment, except those who do not intend to repay, who are not successful people and who should be in prison and not in business !

January 21, 1961 *Swarajya*

STUPENDOUS FOLLY

Maharashtra industrialists, and in particular sugar industrialists, are indignant over the land ceilings proposals which they rightly feel will fatally hit the growing of sugarcane which factory-owners had successfully organized in furtherance of their important industry. This is a natural and proper protest. The sugar interests have pointed out how foolish and profitless the scheme of ceilings proposal is from every point of view.

While this is true, and indeed is an understatement of the case, how much stronger must the condemnation be when looked at from the point of view of agricultural employment and of food-grains production ? If sugar production is important, how much

greater is the importance of the production of rice and other food-grains which the ceilings proposals will affect? Sugar is food no doubt and it yields important tax revenue, but rice and wheat are what the nation must live on. They are, for the people and government, most fundamental. He who has eyes to see can realize how this ceiling madness has affected the interest and initiative which those employed in agriculture must take in their avocation. The big producers are being driven out of their hereditary and traditional occupation to cities to lead indolent lives and waste their substance. The basic pattern of life, of the most fundamental section of Indian life, is being sadly mangled.

There can be no hope of mechanization or other ways of improvement of agricultural production, if all holdings are at one stroke to be converted into small holdings. No one will have the capacity to save and invest in fruitful experiment, or risk any money in the adventure of increased food production. The dream of substituting real co-operative enterprise for the large land-holder will not materialize.

There will be no powerful, honest leaders of rural interests to balance the industrial or labour interests in the conflicts that will inevitably arise in the increasing interference of the State in the economic life of the people. The peasant's interests will go unrepresented in political life, except for the uninformed and inane speechification of political adventurers. Real rural leadership will disappear in the course of a few years, as a result of the striking down of the tall poppies in rural life.

The supply of rice and food-grains to the urban markets does not and cannot come from the small peasants, but only from those who have large holdings. It is they who have no anxiety-complex, which unfortunately characterizes the smaller holders in a land so liable to monsoon irregularities, and which leads to petty hoarding. After the ceiling proposals are worked out, the supply of grain for urban and industrial workers will surely go down, thus creating a scarcity condition that will affect prices everywhere and in respect of all commodities.

The official investigation into the condition of rural, landless labour has revealed a grave situation. Rural labour in India consists of landless families in the villages who are not living on the handloom or other village crafts. These are computed to be 20 per cent of the total population. To this must be added the large number of families whose holdings are too small and who also depend on seasonal agricultural work available in the villages in the larger holdings, in order to supplement their scanty earnings from their own land. This is a much larger number than is realized by people who do not live in villages or can be seen in the census figures. The total percentage of the population depending on income from wages in agricultural operations is much greater than is indicated by the census figures as to landless workers. All these people depend on wages earned in the bigger holdings. The earnings are mostly in kind and traditional in measure, and, therefore, much more precious than money wages adversely affected by the rise in price levels. All these opportunities of employment for rural agricultural workers will disappear as a consequence of reduction of size in landholdings.

The ceilings proposals, instead of equalizing, will act detrimentally against the poorest classes in the countryside. This can be realized only by those who are in intimate touch with the countryside, not by those who are now presuming to make laws to change the pattern of life in the rural area of our vast country. The very proposals and trends of land legislation have produced sad effects. The wages of agricultural workers have gone down, and unemployment has increased among them. Add to this the augmentation of distress caused by the slightest increase in the cost of those commodities which, even in a low standard of life, the rural classes have to buy apart from foodstuffs. Anything that hurts the rural families, depending on wages earned in labour in fields, is stupendous folly.

The ceilings proposals are a national folly which adversely hits the rural wage-earners as well as the representation of agricultural interests generally in parliamentary life. Not sugar pro-

duction alone, but also things of more fundamental importance, are adversely affected. Politicians can be induced to make exceptions in favour of the sugar interests, provided strings are pulled properly as one can see in the Madras legislation. But who will take the trouble of protecting those who have no money to give to Congress Party funds, the rural wage earning classes? The leaders of the Harijans are absorbed in politics of a much less important kind. Otherwise, they should be the first to object to any legislative fragmentation of holdings which will most seriously affect the daily lives of their numerous people in the villages.

January 21, 1961 *Swarajya.*

SWATANTRA PARTY ELECTION SYMBOL

THE Supreme Court, the High Court and the rest of the judiciary in the country, the Union and State Public Service Commissions, the Auditor-General and the Election Commission and its agencies in the States, are all independent authorities and are not subject to the sovereign executive authority in charge of the administration of the country. They can serve their constitutional purpose only if this independence is kept in mind. These several authorities may, for certain purposes of day-to-day administration, be attached to the Law or Home or Finance ministries of the Union and the States, but that fact does not reduce them to a position of subordination to those ministries or departments. This independence of certain institutions necessary to carry on the affairs of the country in accordance with justice and high principles, within the ambit of parliamentary democracy, must be ever kept in mind in spite of the temptations and misunderstandings that may arise now and then.

It was a pity, therefore, that in a recent parliamentary debate, the question of a symbol to be reserved for the national Swatantra

Party was sought to be disposed of by the Law Minister, instead of leaving the question to be carefully considered by the Election Commission which would, if necessary, come to government for such new rules or amendments of the law as it may find necessary for the proper discharge of its duties under the law and Constitution.

The guidance that has been translated into the present rules for recognizing and giving symbols to any political party claiming to be a national party has no application to the case of a *new* party that has come into existence after the last general elections. Any rule based on the percentage of votes secured by a party at a previous general election cannot be applied to such a party, because it had not been in existence at the last general elections. It would be absurd to apply the percentage rule and exclude all new parties from becoming national parties at any time. It would be equally absurd to declare that, as there is no provision in the present rules covering a newly formed party, such a party cannot come into existence or claim a suitable symbol of its choice.

The Swatantra Party is in the same position as the Congress Party was when it first entered the forum. The character of the party and its principles entitle it to be a national party, apart from any percentage figure which, in the nature of things, it is precluded from presenting when it enters the field for the first time. A party that stands in opposition to the Congress Party's main planks of socialism and Statism, a party that stands for freedom of occupation and for the other fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution as it originally stood (when it was adopted in 1950), and is opposed to the expanding system of State regulation in all fields, a party that stands for minimum power for government and maximum freedom for the citizen, cannot be denied national status on any ground artificially framed by the ruling party.

It would be impossible for the Election Commission to deny the Swatantra Party the same conveniences which have been and

will be accorded to the Congress Party at national elections. And if the Election Commission finds any lacuna in the rules, it is for that authority to take steps to get the lacuna properly and justly filled in. Even now there are over a hundred members in the Lok Sabha and the State legislatures who represent a potential of a few million voters under any reasonable estimate. Fundamentally, any party that has come up to oppose the ruling party on its most important principles of governance must be given the recognition and status of a national party, so that the issues may be fairly put before the electorate and parliamentary democracy may be helped to take its even course. The white star on blue background must be given national recognition as the symbol of the Swatantra Party and the electorate must be given an equal chance to vote either for permit-and-licence government or for freedom of economic life. The white star cannot be blacked out by any rules which were framed without anticipating the rise of a new party to challenge it on fundamentals. It is to meet unanticipated contingencies that rule-making powers are provided for in the laws.

January 21, 1961 *Swarajya*

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S WARNING

Mr. Kennedy's address has been broadcast over all the world. It is a great statement attempting to express a desire to make friends and co-exist with the communist States, but at the same time mixing enough bellicosity in it to prevent friendliness being mistaken for weakness. Let us hope that the new President will succeed in fields where his good and brave predecessor failed, not for want of will or popular support, but by reasons of the follies of the human machinery which every President must inherit in the bureaucracy that operates within democracy.

We would do well to pick and digest the general truths embodied in the great address with which the new U.S. President has begun his term of office. He pledges his administration to a determined "unwillingness to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed". Here is wisdom and energetic resolve in a direction which we would do well to ponder over; for there is much in it to apply in our own case. There is a process which our Congress Party has started, and is determined to pursue, which inevitably means the "undoing of those human rights" which the nation wrote down in clear terms in the Constitution adopted after the withdrawal of the British, individual rights which, to quote President Kennedy again, "come not from the generosity of the State but from the hand of God". We, too, every individual that counts, would be doing well if we resolved "to pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend or oppose any foe," in order to assure the survival of these fundamental rights. Otherwise, the end is certain; these God-given rights will wither away until we shall all believe that we have a right only to what is permitted by the State, out of its grace. Indeed, the process has already gone so far that most people even now believe that trade and economic life are impossible without the ubiquitous State-control—a superstition that has been left behind by the unnatural years of the last war, belied by the past experience of hundreds of years.

The curse of State-control which takes the deceptive shape of large favours to particular beneficiaries, makes those persons anti-social and selfish beings, worse than any profit-making traders working against competition. The few favoured beneficiaries are protected against rival energy, rival integrity, rival initiative, and become the enemies of all the others of their class. They ride on the government tiger, and for the time being feel high and mighty. But, alas, the whole class to which each of them belongs including himself, will soon "end up inside", to repeat Mr. Kennedy's warning. Mr. Kennedy gives this warning to people relying on communist support, but like all other truths it has more

general application than to this particular case. Those industrialists and businessmen, who are happy in the enjoyment of the advantage gained from the favours shown to them in a general scheme of regimentation, should realize what a hungry beast they are riding on. It will not take long for them to come to a point when they do not ride on top. When the elections are over, and if they help to keep the tiger going, they will see how easy it is to slip into the inside of the animal.

It is worth resolving to pay any present price, bear any burden and meet any hardship for the sake of helping to preserve liberty for all time, for oneself and for others.

January 28, 1961 *Swarajya*

THIS PRISON-HOUSE

And Jacob said, Swear to me this day; and Esau swore unto him and sold his birthright unto Jacob.—Genesis 25.

The Plan is no longer a means to an end, but has become an end in itself—a god who must be fed with sacrifices. To appease this blood-thirsty god, the nation is burdened with a Himalayan load of taxation and of debt. Our jute and tea exports held the fort for balancing the usual irreducible imports. But even the export of jute has now fallen. The proposed debt position is one that demands an enormous increase of new exports, if we have to pay as we shall have promised. If we do not find the exports, the obligations must eat into our freedom. It is not possible to evade the inexorable natural law that governs such matters.

The Plan was conceived for the sake of prestige and welfare but now, at the altar of this god prestige and welfare, these themselves are to be sacrificed.

Happiness consists very greatly in the every day freedom that people enjoy. Otherwise, the American slaves that were treated humanely and fed and clothed had no reason to ask for freedom. The whole of life in India has been converted by our present rulers into an endless series of applications for one permit or another; and these permits are not like police or municipal licences, given to everyone who is entitled to it and pays the fee, but are favours, making the chosen few into monopolists in some field or other, at the cost of the freedom of everyone else. The few profit by it in an easy way, but it is deprivation for many others who are refused the permits.

The notion to which the ruling party still holds on, that some kind of collectivization will increase our food production and make us self-sufficient, is unqualified folly. There is no scheme for mechanization which might have been a plausible argument for this expectation. Mere pooling is sure to create negative factors rather than increase production. What is many people's business is nobody's care. If Khrushchov bitterly complained about faked figures in his collective farming reports, what may we not expect in India where falsification of figures is an established art? Plural responsibility is bound to result in failure in agriculture as in other matters.

This permit-licence-administration must be replaced, if we want this country of ours—which has become a cramped prison-house—to be restored to its former condition of freedom, where everyone will have fairplay and where honest and diligent men have not to cringe before arrogant and ignorant officials, or seek the favour of go-betweens for reaching ministers. This permit-licence administration will go, only if the voters cast off fear and hypnosis, and vote against the Congress at the next elections, to bring into existence a sane and just government which aims at the true welfare of the people and does not run after will-o'-the-wisps.

The people's morality has been almost irretrievably ruined. No one is ashamed of asking for or giving a bribe for one's vote.

The Congress is responsible for this fatal disease which, like tuberculosis of the lungs, has found a permanent lodging in the electorate's mind. Collection of gigantic funds from those who can be intimidated has been started twelve months before election time! The Union Minister of Food has been earmarked for making a success of the collection programme. He is now as much a Minister of Election Funds as of Food, perhaps more; for the latter depends on other people's efforts but the former entirely depends on his own energy, experience and special talent. His aptitude for it is well known and he takes to it as a kind of *swa-dharma*. The immorality of subscribing to the political funds of the ruling party has now been covered and protected by legislation. *The Indian Libertarian* has re-published the figures, in one instance, with reference to 1957 collections. One capitalist paid twenty lakhs and thirty thousand rupees to the Congress Party in that year!

With such gigantic funds to be acquired at the end of one period of office for another term of five years, what chance is there for democracy? The people are so poor that the day's hunger serves as a handle for buying up the soul. It is exactly the case of Esau in the Biblical tale. So may God help us! May be, He will and the evil forces of money and power of office may yet be defeated. An inspiration of courage may come about and then all will be different. Men may be entertained, put in vehicles and taken to the booth, but voting may be independent and this permit-licence-system may be terminated, and freedom of life re-established. God willing, money must be shown its place and the false confidence of the present ruling clique, based on money power, must be shamed into defeat. The people may yet see the folly of selling their inheritance for a mess of pottage and refuse to do what Esau did, who for one meal of bread and a pottage of lentils sold his birthright.

January 28, 1961 *Swarajya*

WHY CONGRESS SHOULD BE DEFEATED

A story is going round about Congress Party collections. Apart from big contributions, what may be called relatively small scale collections, at one hundred rupees a bus permit, works out to about five lakhs of rupees. But a more-loyal-than-the-king agent entrusted with this levy-collection scheme began collecting at one thousand rupees a permit ! It was not realized at once but very soon seen, by those above this agent, that it would take the collections to a total of fifty lakhs for the party chest from this single section of contributions in Madras State alone ! This, at first, frightened those who were organizing it, and a reference was made to the boss, who promised to look into this mistake but subsequently confirmed the thousand-rupee arrangement.

This is an instance of how party work is going on. Of course, this is all 'report'. But report makes reputation, and public standards and Caesar's wife should be above suspicion. Should this deterioration of public life not be stemmed ? And how can this be done except by a resolute one-pointed determination to oust this party from office ? The meaning of democracy takes some time, trouble and experience to be realized by a people who have lived long under a different system of governance. Without the actual experience of a change of regime after a general election, democracy is apt to be superimposed by ideas long associated with authority and governance in this country. Easily, such a people fall into the notion of a hereditary or family sovereignty, and look upon rule and regime as unchangeable. To make a people who have lived under entirely different conditions for centuries, wherein authority had been always associated with dynastic notions and with physical power at the command of the rulers, to realize that authority in democracy is only exercised for a period, and is changeable at the will of the people, requires actual demonstration and perhaps more than one demonstration.

That the right to continue in charge of the administration follows from the free choice of the people, and not from power acquired during a period of office, and that the nature of authority under democracy is transitory and not permanent, are truths yet to be understood by the people of India. By force of habit, the people are apt to revert to hereditary or feudal ideas and to make gods of those who exercise authority and who, in fact, depend on votes. A superstitious fear is associated with any attempt to oust the present authority.

How shall we teach men and women in India to understand the true meaning of democracy except by changing authority during a general election? How shall we get those who have been intoxicated and misled by long enjoyed power to see the transient nature of their authority, and realize that the source of that authority is not power and influence to be acquired during one period of office, but the will of the people and their judgment on performance? For a realization of these truths, academic explanation is not adequate. What is wanted is actual experience.

It may be asked, if we should vote against the Congress simply to make people realize that it is possible under democracy to change rulers. Had performance been satisfactory, perhaps not. But there is a great deal else, and much sound reason, why it is good that the Congress should be displaced at the next general election. Illusion at both ends will continue with increased persistence, and the nature of democracy will continue unrealized if this does not take place. This is a reason, which is supported by a number of other considerations and grounds, for a change of regime, not the least of which are the evils of a corrupt administration together with a regimented economy to which the present ruling party has committed itself. The barefaced collection of party funds using the power that has come into the party's hands, under a system of regimented economy, in order to continue in office, is not an excusable misbehaviour. What can be more immoral than these extortions to be used to resist and defeat those who seek to release the victims, and thereby

to keep the tyranny going for another long and emasculating period?

February 4, 1961 *Swarajya*

ALONGSIDE THE RANI OF JHANSI

MAHARANI Gayatri Devi of Jaipur announced her joining the Swatantra Party the same week as the British Queen and her consort visited that historic place and were the Maharani's guests. The Maharani has, by this brave act, dispelled by one stroke the fog of fear and lackeyism that blurs the vision and confounds the understanding of many sections of the Indian public, who ought to know democracy better than tremble before the Congress Party as if it were a Czarist rule threatening to ruin anyone that dared to differ, or take any constitutional step to challenge its authority. Maharani Gayatri Devi takes an honoured place alongside the Rani of Jhansi for bravery in the present days of authoritarianism. Here is a woman of India that represents the courage that the poet-sage put into Sita, who spurned the threats of Ravana even when she was a prisoner in his garden.

The shooting of the tiger by the Queen's consort has figured largely in the papers. But all men who have the future of India in their hearts, the future of freedom and democracy, the future of Indian manhood, should cherish this great gesture of Gayatri Maharani as a great and inspiring example. I write not as a Swatantra Party man, but as a citizen who values courage and conscience.

Be it any government or any party, if an Indian woman placed in the unfortunate position of the ex-princes and ex-princesses of India, displayed the courage to stand up to the rule

of the party in power, and shame the industrialists, merchants, professors, soldiers and many others who are trembling and hesitating to follow their own convictions, and who, instead of bidding for their own freedom, contribute to the power of tyranny, it is meet that we should bow in admiration and homage to this great lady who has set such a bright and worthy example. God bless her.

February 4, 1961 *Swarajya*

DEBIT SIDE OF CONGRESS RULE

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru used to tell me that he knew the crowd mentality better than I or any of our other colleagues did. This is probably true—not in the sense that he knows what the people want but in the cruder sense of knowing what would please them. Now, is he aware of what the people all over India, the poor and the rich, the peasant and the trader, the privileged as well as those not blessed by good fortune, want today? They want a good, honest, impartial administration which they do not have today.

It is not an exaggeration to say that, as a result of a misunderstanding of the proper distribution of authority and classification of functions in parliamentary democracy, and consequent ministerial and party interventions, the official machine, as a whole as well as in all its several parts, has got deteriorated and compares very badly with what we had under the British pre-Independence regime. It is taken for granted that officials must be 'loyal' to the ruling party in their day-to-day functions. And this means not only 'a conspiracy of mutual inefficiency', as Lionel Fielden puts it in his recent most readable story of his wandering life, but also a conspiracy of helping the ruling party at the cost of justice and impartiality.

Not only do the people suffer; not only does democracy deteriorate as a result of this habitual false loyalty—but the official cadre has lost the very sense of standards. Young and brilliant men, selected on merit and entering their careers, are made to feel that grit is not wanted, that independence of thinking is not to be indulged in, but they must play the game of loyalty to party. Their psychology and natural urges are mis-educated by what they are surrounded by. Fine material, not inferior to any available material anywhere in the world, is ruined. These young men of ours could be as good as, and even better than, the old British ICS young men. But, alas! their minds are ruined by the daily intervention of political pressures and by what they see their 'seniors' doing (and thereby benefiting) around them. This political interference with the administration must stop. This is A in my alphabetical list.

My next grievance is the blackmail that is indulged in shamelessly on behalf of the party chest of the ruling clique. The power that officials, ministers and deputy ministers, and the ruling party's committee bosses hold and daily put into action over every citizen that makes or hopes to make a good business of any avocation or trade, is utilized for the purpose of collection of 'donations' for election and pre-election preparatory purposes. This immoral and, as the election approaches, feverish use of powers given to ministers and their 'loyal' officials in the 'welfare State' economy has been objected to openly, and a challenge issued to the Congress Party to make it illegal for incorporated companies to make contributions to political parties. All the parties in Parliament voted for the prohibition but the Congress Party issued its 'whip' to its members and saved an adverse decision and shamelessly resolved to keep the blackmail going. This is B in my list.

When government crosses the limits of the minimal field of governance belonging to it by universal history and tradition, and enters on the vast new area of regulating and controlling all trade, all production, all transport and every economic activity

of individuals, as in the communist States, we have a new situation in parliamentary democracy. When this enlargement of the functions of the State and its officials has taken place, we have to devise new measures to facilitate freedom of choice when legislators and administrators are to be periodically chartered to function on the people's behalf.

The liberty of the voters has to be protected, in spite of the economic stranglehold. If new measures are not taken, nothing is easier than for a welfare State administration to perpetuate itself and to get repeatedly elected to office. The constitutional provisions, which were enough for guaranteeing freedom of election in the old days, are not enough when the regulatory entanglements of a welfare State economy have come into being. In order that the once-in-five-years general election may be a fairly democratic election and not a make-believe, an *interregnum* is absolutely essential, and the ruling party must submit to a decent interval of caretaker governance through the presumably neutral authority of the President of the Union and his agents, the Governors of the States. The ruling party, whichever it is at the time, must submit to this *interregnum*. Otherwise, there is a fatal flaw in the checks and balances required for free democracy. This is an essential screw and nut in the mechanism. The ruling party refuses to accept this. It insists on running elections with all the advantages accrueing to it incidentally as a welfare State authority in position. It probably feels it cannot return to power otherwise. It pleads that there is no provision for an interregnum in the Constitution. But that does not prevent its voluntarily stepping down and creating a constitutional convention. This is C in my list.

D is the debt position. How are you going to repay the debts you are placing on the shoulders of the nation? Are you ready with a plan for this, as essential as the plan for spending and borrowing? Place it before the people, so that those who can compute and judge may see where they stand. But if you are not prepared with such a plan, beyond the vague hope that

prosperity will come, and will enable us to repay, I hold that it is a bankrupt's mentality, and the rake's progress must be halted.

The world is moving forward all around us, even as we are busy industrializing our nation. We are making more things and cheaper things. What are the commodities which we plan to make in surplus and to export, in order to repay principal and interest, over and above what we supply to our own people in order to make them happier than they now are? A borrower, if he is a prudent borrower, must plan and have in his mind his repayment schedule. What we hope to make in better quality and cheaper, so as to induce foreign buyers to accept them, must be listed and shown to balance the borrowings. Otherwise, it is not business-like borrowing. The figures of the loans are astronomical and, as far as can be seen, the plans of repayment are nil. We cannot hope to make anything cheaper or better, such as can be exported and sold to our industrialist-nation creditors. If we hope to make ships or locomotives or automobiles good enough to be sold abroad, let us know.

The borrowings are in reality based not on real *credit* but on the political situation in the context of the cold war. And this is dangerous, to put it briefly. It will be found, in course of time, probably sooner than expected, to be an untenable position.

Some people ask us not to be led by copy-book maxims but to borrow bravely. A copy-book maxim reversed is also as poor a guide as the original maxim. Neither a borrower nor a lender be, said Polonius. This may be a mere copy-book maxim. But "borrow without plans to repay, and as much as you can" is certainly not a good rule.

Persons engaged in business do borrow and benefit by it. But no good businessman borrows without some definite plan and expectation of production to meet the calls for repayment, based on reasonable calculation. American and British capital could be encouraged to flow into private partnerships in India.

Industry could thrive with frugal management and the help of foreign capital and know-how. It would be a responsibility of those who are in charge and would help the nation's progress. But government's borrowing for public management falls into a different category.

We may not lose Independence by reason of bankruptcy in the colonial sense, but what about ever so many things else—what about honour and prestige? We are not a war-ravaged country like Germany or Britain, morally entitled to release from debts and to aid for being rehabilitated. We had at the end of the war a very sizeable balance in our favour held by Britain. Is Mr. Jawarhalal Nehru aware that many people who ought to know better are saying to one another that international loans are always written off and are not intended to be repaid? We cannot ask for a write-off without paying for it in some serious way, loss of national honour and international status. Let us wisely borrow, by all means, but let us see also how we hope to repay and let the calculations be made fairly reasonably.—*The Hindustan Times*.

February 4, 1961 *Swarajya*

PAKISTAN SHOWS THE WAY

PAKISTAN has begun to show us the way in a striking manner. The following news item has appeared in the press:

> The Pakistan Cabinet, at its meeting today, took a major step to take the country towards a free economy by deciding to lift controls on a large number of items with immediate effect. The Industries Minister, Mr. A. K. Khan, told newsmen that in pursuance of the Government's policy that more production could take place only in a free economy, the Government had lifted controls on 29 commodities out of 44. These include building material

> like iron and steel, cement, plates and sheet glasses, sanitary and water supply fittings and building hardware, caustic soda and medicines. Among the 15 items still under price and distribution control were tea, sewing machines, edible oils and bidi leaves. The Pakistan Government last week lifted control on price and distribution of cotton yarns and cloth.

Japan and West Germany had shown the true way to progress. But those good examples had no effect on our omniscient Congress Party. Now neighbour Pakistan has decided firmly to take the path of decontrol and to release the energy of her people. Sunshine will take the place of darkness. Pakistan has been providentially charged, so to say, to teach us a lesson and lead us out of the wrong path into which we have strayed.

There is no doubt the effects will soon be seen by those who have the mind to see. The withdrawing of the baneful restraints placed on the energy and enterprise of producers and distributors, the release of the creative spirit of the people, will result in a leap towards prosperity and progress, which will proceed with accelerated pace as it did in West Germany and Japan.

If our economy continues to be in the grip of the Congress Party, and if sycophant officials who have become more socialist than their socialist masters, continue to harass, impede and hamper those who are really eager to add to national wealth, Pakistan will soon be in a position to shame us and demonstrate what can be achieved by the releasing of national energy.

Wealth is not produced by letting the monster of envy play with our policies and destroying the seed that must multiply, viz., capital. Wealth is not produced by suffocating and choking but by freedom to breathe and grow. Are we to wait till Pakistan, following the path of Swatantra, shames us into wisdom? The cliches of socialism will not help us. Those cliches should be thrown into the dust-heap of modern falsehood. The balanced generalities of our Prime Minister will not help us either. Like

other empty things, there is more sound in them than guidance. Can there be anything more absurd than one of our ex-ambassadors using bitter language against West Germany for not aiding us and our 'Plan' with more loans? This is patent and dishonourable blackmail. Are we decent borrowers or are we just exploiting the cold war and taking up the role of rowdy beggars? Beggars we are, but let us at least behave like decent beggars.

Let us do some fundamental thinking. Let us not go on destroying the value of our money, and the nation along with it, by "our endless round of perpetual-motion schemes—something-for-nothing-economic-witchcraft". As the inflation rate is proceeding up and up, and our interest and establishment charges are increasing, as we "roll with exceeding smoothness down-hill, making paper money and spending it", will it take very long to get to the bottom? Let us recover good sense before it is too late.

February 18, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE KILLING FROST OF STATISM

THE Congress Party is using the word 'co-operation' as if it were an abracadabra or mantram. It is easy enough to exploit any phrase or name carrying good or great, past or present, associations. Co-operation is not a charm or incantation to alter the laws of nature. It consists in an ordering of things that will eliminate conflict between opposing interests in any creative effort and thereby help production without loss of efficiency. The conflict between consumer and producer is eliminated by a co-operative organization into which consumer and producer jointly enter. The conflict of interests between those who invest capital and organize labour, in order to produce any commodities,

and of those who are to buy and consume the articles so produced, is eliminated or greatly reduced if the two interests are combined in a co-operative organization. This can happen in a *variety of activities where the two parties, the producer and the* consumer, can be brought together; that is to say, where the consumers can be induced to become also the producers and not act as mere critics or auditors.

Where this is not possible or not done, but 'co-operation' is brought about among consumers only or among producers only, so as to pool the energies of production, or to eliminate harmful competition among consumers, it is not co-operation in the real sense but only joint action. In this latter variety of socalled 'co-operation', we eliminate competition and to that extent it acts as a dis-incentive rather than as an incentive for good standards. We do not eliminate the conflict of opposing interests. It is a protective measure taken by one party against the other party, that is to say, if it is a combine of producers, it is a move against consumers, and *vice versa.* It may be a way of augmenting investment by the pooling together of resources or of energy, and in that way be beneficial. But where this pooling does not materially add to the potential of production, it only acts as a dis-incentive. Where, for instance, all the importers of timber combine and import and sell timber, it is not a co-operative organization in the real sense. It is just a union of timber merchants. On the other hand, where builders of houses combine and buy a timber estate and import wood and saw it, and distribute it among themselves, it is a co-operative organization which eliminates the conflict between the buying and the selling interests. In the one case the combine eliminates the conflict and competition among timber merchants, and increases the chances of their making profit without any special effort at economy or improvement of quality. It reduces the capacity of the consumers of timber to demand better quality or lower prices. Grouping together of the same interests is mere collectivization, not co-operation. Apart from the advantage obtained against the consuming interests by the elimination of internal competi-

tion (e.g., the petroleum companies' combine), the grouping eliminates emulation in producing better quality, in economizing, and in paying attention to the details involved in all productive work.

What then is the intelligent principle behind socalled co-operative farming? Mechanization of labour and reduction of farming expense may be aimed at, where there is a possibility for such things. Obviously there is no room for it in the food-grains private sector except in certain show units. The ceiling laws proposed now will further reduce the scope for mechanization. As against it, there is the great problem of reduction in personal interest which is so important in farming operations running through the annual cycle of seasons. Farming is one of those activities which depend, to such a great extent, on personal interest and attention, that too many persons entitled to be engaged on the same unit does not mean addition of strength, but means conflict and consequent reduction of the net result. A joint stock company of peasants even though it may be called by the name of 'co-operative society' is not an improvement on the traditional pattern of agriculture in our country. Indeed, even Hindu joint families of peasants voluntarily break up, so as to discourage idleness and parasitism and in order that land under cultivation may be better attended to.

The talk of the Congress Party, and their supporters, of co-operation is mere abracadabra. It seeks to exploit the simplicity of our rural electorate whose one all-pervading need is money, loans on easy terms which may be expected to be written off! The people are deluded into becoming debtors to the State or quasi-State organizations which in turn are made to convert their assets into bad debts to be written off when things are forgotten and the slate cleaned up. The net result is loss to the public exchequer and encouragement of waste and fraud. The agricultural community in India, in its enlightened organizations, is therefore totally opposed to the 'co-operative' farming which is the Congress Party's election slogan.

If the farmers are enabled to get their wants supplied on better terms, under any system of real co-operation which does not reduce or tamper with the individual peasant's interest, attention and incentive, it would be a very good thing. On the contrary, the present activities which are likely to continue, do not help the farmers. Illegal monopolies are created in the fertilizer trade leading to pernicious black-marketing. Policies which are good in themselves become bad on account of the partisan character of the execution of those policies under the pressure of the party system, and the eagerness of the cliques formed under it to improve their own fortunes and increase their own power.

There is a great upsurge of patriotic interest in production all round, in agriculture as well as in industrial effort, but this is being choked and killed. If only the ruling party gave up its ill-conceived plans to confiscate the larger landholdings and undermine the traditional confidence in land and agriculture, be it in large or in small farms, and if it also released the economy from Statism, agriculture and industry would both thrive. India would show what her people could achieve when the permit and licence economy is done away with and full freedom restored to individual ambition and human effort, without the bane of unfair monopolies created by Statism. Freedom will bring about united effort. Statism is a killing frost.

February 18, 1961 *Swarajya*

ILL-GOTTEN MONEY

However brazen the face that the Congress Party and its great bosses put on, the public in India are not going to consider as something respectable, or allowed by convention, the blackmail

that the party is levying on the industrial, the commercial, the transport, the film and all other communities who have money, and have also good reasons to fear the displeasure of the ruling party. The Prime Minister whose voice is long and loud, and covers the ample columns of the newspapers on every possible subject coming up for notice, is completely reticent on the great scandal of the times, viz., his ministers and his political lieutenants collecting in units of Rs. 25,000, Rs. 50,000 and lakhs for his party's election chest, taking every advantage of being in office and yielding to the temptation to reap the maximum harvest of blackmail. It is true there has been a breakdown of moral values in the wake of the two world wars. But there is still a great deal of talk on *sheela* and *dharma* in India, and there is no lack of V.I.Ps giving moral advice to the people of this country and even to other nations. There is the platform in Rajghat on the Jumna river, on which wreaths are periodically and on special occasions laid, which symbolises not power but the *dharma* that Gandhiji preached and thought he had left to responsible leaders after him to continue preaching. This nation-wide blackmail and the net of terror on which its success is based, are black repudiations of all that Gandhiji aimed at, *satya, ahimsa* and *abhaya*.

It is not a tide of the masses or the spirit of the times that is making this black chapter of our history, but individual men of power. The masses still seem inclined to be honest, but, alas, they are not left alone. The people are brave but, alas, they are caught in the barbed entanglements of the State which does not hesitate to exercise its power on any individual in any occupation. How can family and business face the ruin that a permit-and-licence regime can, at any moment, bring down on them ?

The writing is on the wall. Such brazen immorality nature cannot tolerate. Power and money have an intrinsic factor that breeds rivalry and self-destruction. The Congress has only two alternatives before it, to survive by wisely reducing its power and avoiding the evils of ill-gotten wealth, or to be swallowed up

in the corruptions and rivalries that result from an excess of power and pelf. Not party discipline or hush-hush, but a removal of the causes that breed rivalries and corruptions, can alone cure the ruling party's diseases that are forced on the public attention day in and day out now.

February 18, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE CONGRESS JUBILEE

The 75th anniversary of the Indian National Congress is being celebrated all over the country by Congress ministers and their supporters as if it were a jubilee of their party. There is plenty of money in the party chest. In fact, there is a glut and the problem is how to spend it all.

Seventy-five years back, that is in 1885, some eminent men of India started the Indian National Congress and kept the organization going as a national centre of agitation for the improvement of India's political status. The agitation culminated in a demand for colonial status for India on equal rank with Australia, Canada, and other members of the Commonwealth. In the first decade of the twentieth century an extremist wing developed in the organization, demanding complete Independence. This resulted in the exclusion of that section from the organization which thereafter was in the control of the moderate party. After some years there was a compromise (in 1917) which brought the extremist section again into the Congress. In 1920 the organization adopted the Gandhian movement of non-co-operation and civil disobedience, and in 1929 it formally adopted the creed of Swaraj. The goal of the organization was achieved in 1947 and the British Government handed over the authority to the Congress as far as India was concerned, the Muslim League

being the transferee of power as far as Pakistan was concerned. The Congress converted itself thereafter into a political party organization. It ceased to be a national organization and became a party organization.

Many congressmen formed other political parties ranged in Parliament against the Congress Party. Mahatma Gandhi attempted, during his last days, to distinguish and isolate the old National Congress from the new political scene and from party politics. But his advice was not accepted, as the party desired to exploit the national organization's history for party purposes.

Now, the jubilee being celebrated as a seventy-fifth anniversary is not a jubilee of the present Congress Party, but of the common national organization which has ceased to be. It is a jubilee, if at all, of an organization common to all political parties in India. It should not be utilized as an occasion for furthering the Congress Party's chances in the coming elections. But this is exactly what is being done. It should have been made an occasion for all parties coming together in common jubilation over India's present free status rather than being exploited for the election purposes of a particular party.

The State tri-colour is displayed in banners and flags and other decorations in connection with this festival. The State is different from the political party to which, for a period, the governance of the State is entrusted. The Congress Party's flag is unfortunately ambiguous. It is the same tri-colour as what was adopted for the State. The *charka* and the *chakra*, where they are displayed, are ambiguous too. This double ambiguity helps the Congress Party's attempts to confuse the public. An atmosphere of national loyalty is being raised round the claims of the Congress Party to continue to govern the country. The latest of political parties in India, the Swatantra Party, is as much entitled to share in the 75th anniversary jubilee of the Indian National Congress as the party in office which has impro-

perly made it into a party festival. The temptation was no doubt great in view of the coming elections, and the anxiety of the ruling party to continue in possession in spite of widespread dissatisfaction. But the temptation should have, in decency, been avoided.

February 18, 1961 *Swarajya*

A COUNCIL OF TRADES AND AGRICULTURE

THE upper houses in the States as well as the one in Delhi have become mere dumping grounds for the exercise of political patronage in the hands of the majority party. These houses were constituted and justified on other grounds, which now are forgotten. What the country needs as a set-off against the unavoidable defects arising out of universal adult suffrage is a council of trades, industries and professions, wherein every producing and servicing activity is properly and adequately represented, so that policies initiated in the lower house by interested groups may be examined satisfactorily by men of experience in the working of the various branches of production and other national services. There should be a mechanism to prevent erroneous policy issuing out of a majority vote based on inexperience. Whatever is hastily sought to be done, in the hope of improving national life or conceived for the benefit of particular interests holding power under the present system of voting, must be exposed to the fire of analysis and critical examination in a house containing experienced representatives of agriculture and industrial production in all branches, and of those who are concerned in the field of transport and distribution. We would then have provided for correlation and well-integrated legislation instead of hasty and ill-considered policies harmfully affecting the vital productive activities of the people. Such a house-of-trades-and-

agriculture is one of the essential factors in the legislative organization of a State which seeks to be a welfare State. Otherwise, it would be the handing over of the national household to a foolish crowd.

February 18, 1961 *Swarajya*

WITCH - HUNT

Like Hitler's shouting against the conspiracies of 'international Jewry', it has become the habit of Congress leaders and their supporters to talk and frighten people about the princes and feudalism. Recently there has been much propaganda in certain journals about the Swatantra Party cleverly and successfully organizing the 'feudal' and 'princely' elements. This obsession about the former princes and the former zemindars, and the nightmare made out of a combination of the Swatantra Party with these terrible ghosts, is exactly the post-Independence Congress counterpart of pure Hitlerian madness.

Who are these princes and zemindars? Men who have been deprived of all their previous possessions, all but the barest minimum which sheer justice demanded should be left to them. They are men who have been deprived not only of their material possessions but even of their prestige and natural influence, being subjected to continuous acts of humiliation through the officials, both high and petty in rank.

Now even the worm turns when tyranny is taken beyond the limits of toleration. The princes and the zemindars have been not only reduced to the status of ordinary citizens, and deprived of all feudal or princely power and authority and humiliated as never to be able to regain any of their traditional influence even

among those who had always received the kindest and most benevolent treatment from them and help of all kinds, but it is sought through official tyrannies to degrade them to a status lower than that of the ordinary citizen. While a citizen is entitled to side any political party, these so-called ex-feudal and ex-princely elements are expected to keep clear of all opposition to the ruling clique. They are most welcome to the ruling party, and can get nominated to Parliament and sent on diplomatic assignments, provided they side the ruling party. But the slightest attempt to help an opposition is treated as treason and rebellion, and the Congress Party and its minions are ready with their trumpets to sound the alarm. "The worm turns! What right has it to turn? It is dangerous, it is conspiracy, it is Swatantra Party's intrigue!" Nothing can be more absurd or silly.

And if there were not people ready to be misled by such shouts, it could be completely ignored as nonsense. But anything passes, as it did in Germany during the days of Hitler. The situation is terribly analogous. Tyranny knows no bounds. Here are 'princes' and 'zemindars' with their territorial possessions all gone, their properties taken away with compensation ridiculously under-assessed, and even that not yet paid in many cases, people who are trying to live bravely under every kind of humiliation, exiles among their own people, who seek to live honourably and to exercise a tithe of the normal citizen's rights—and this is looked upon as dangerous rebellion. Anyone may vote any way he likes, may associate himself with others for exercising his fundamental rights, may take part in any political activity, but not these 'ex-princes' or 'ex-zemindars'. Why may they not? One is entitled to ask this question. The only answer is that the power-mad ruling party and its sycophants think that it would endanger the continuance of their own unpopular rule.

The neo-feudalism of the Congress Party, with its complete control over the industrialists and the merchants and distributors, and all their moneys, is a worse kind of feudalism and

a worse type of maharajism than any that prevailed before the abolition of the Indian States and the zemindaris. It is not the State but the Congress Party that enjoys this control over industrialists and the merchants and others, and enjoys the fruits thereof. Hitler was power-mad : anti-semitism was his weapon of hatred and deception. The Congress Party is equally power-mad and anti-feudalism and anti-princely order are its weapons of hatred and deception.

Let us not be misled by this witch-hunting clique into injustice and tyranny. Let there be decency in politics, so long as we pay at least lip-homage to the Constitution. Anyone may join the Swatantra Party, be he prince or zemindar or wage-earning labourer, if he wants fundamental rights to be preserved and if he does not want the country to go totalitarian.

Then there is the cheap word 'reactionary'. If to oppose the Congress and the communist parties is reaction, the Swatantra Party is reactionary in that sense. If to fight for the fundamental rights as recorded in the Constituent Assembly in 1950 is reactionary, the Swatantra Party is reactionary. If to cause those solemn guarantees to be eroded is reform, the Congress is doing reform. If to bring any political party into being to oppose the ruling party instead of pushing it in the same direction in which it is going is reactionary, I am a reactionary. If supplying an essential element that is wanting now in the parliamentary structure is reaction, I am guilty of reaction. These cheap words, 'reactionary', 'feudal', 'retrograde' and the like are words that come up where reason is not available, in order to fool the unwary and frighten the timid folk from doing the right thing. What we should be frightened about is not words that may be flung against wisdom and warning, but of the totalitarian mind of the present ruling party and of the disastrous effects of giving it another period of office which it proposes to secure by the power of money and the gullibility of people.

February 25, 1961 *Swarajya*

COMPETITION IN INDUSTRY

Mr. S. R. Dennison, Professor of Economics, University of Belfast, writing in *Lloyd's Bank Review* (January 1961) points out that the rediscovery of the virtues of competition in industry has been one of the most remarkable features of post-war Western Europe.

Dealing with legislation intended to curb what are called "restrictive practices" which enable corruptions to eliminate competition, he says that the present trend against such monopolistic agreements is a corollary of the reaction against war-time government controls. The experience of government controls has generated a dislike of even comparable controls practised by private industry. The experience of nationalization and the realization that the creation of monolithic monopolies brings more problems and fewer benefits than had been expected have contributed to the conviction that greater economic progress and rising standards of living will issue, if the economy is not impeded by monopolistic arrangements, whether of the State or of private industry. Competition is at the root of freedom, despite all academic arguments to the contrary, and when the State takes up anything it is done always on the basis of a monopoly.

The prejudice against capital arises out of blind ignorance of the natural laws of production of wealth. No wealth can be produced without investment of capital, any more than can a crop be raised without seed grain. The anger against profits is nothing but envy. Class conflict nurtured by shortsighted and envious persons is as ridiculous as it is vicious. Capital and those who save wealth and make it serve society are not monsters. They are instruments that serve society.

February 25, 1961 *Swarajya*

MORAL BANKRUPTCY OF CONGRESS

HERE is a party that sits in office and spends all the time at its disposal this year in selling or promising, or indirectly binding itself to sell to individuals, favours and monopolies, large or small, according to capacity, under the deceptive name of a controlled economy.

Controls are bad and cause more real harm to the economy than any good that is innocently calculated to issue therefrom. But when they are used just for the purpose of favouring some and disfavouring others, according as they favour the ruling clique or oppose it, they become unadulterated evil.

The wide world knows that what I have said is true. Everyone wants this permit-and-licence-raj should go and our economy freed from this post-war pestilence. I have undertaken a herculean task. Not only are the Augean stables heavily laden with evil, but the very victims that suffer are afraid to rise in revolt, lest they meet immediate and fatal victimization. They are not confident that my mission will succeed and dread to be in a losing battle. May God give them the courage that comes only from His grace, the courage which enabled all the battles of history to end in victory for the right cause against seemingly heavy odds.

The Congress Party hopes to win with its three weapons, (1) astronomical sums of money collected from industrial, transport and other bosses at the point of the dagger, (2) the electoral advantage that helps a party in office in a land unused to real democracy, and whose tradition is to bow before official authority, and (3) the opportunity a party in power has to win when its multiple opponents vote against one another, so to say.

Taking the last first, I hope and believe that the folly of being divided into mutually counteracting groups, giving a chance to the Congress to get away with it through a gap in the triangle will be realized in time. The fallacy of egalitarian socialism based on envy and ignorance of the mechanism of wealth-production, I trust, will also be realized, and the socialism of the Congress rejected by every party. It is not socialism but just a cover for selling monopolies and favours. Much more honesty than is available in the Congress Party is required to give a proper foundation for any policy of controlled economy to do good. The most expedient policy is free competition among producers and distributors, so that the public at large, the consumers, may be the arbiters and not the monopoly-and-favours-selling clique in office.

As for the advantages accrueing from being in office and having the power to victimize, the sooner the unfortunate sufferers throw off fear and make a bid for liberty, the better. One more victory for the Congress Party would mean undiluted and unqualified arrogance and tyranny with no hope in the future for freedom. We must expose victimization to public gaze, which would turn the tables on the Congress Party at the elections and help to put an end to this barbarity which is inconsistent with the freedoms guaranteed in all democratic governments. Victimization is not so profitable a game when the elections are near; and the Congress bosses know this.

Lastly, money power. Let me share with the public my faith that God will not allow this black-mailed accumulation of money-power to win. This world is not a place to live in, if indeed money alone could win parliamentary elections. Let money flow. Ill-gotten money had better get disbursed as soon as possible. It will not help but will soon breed its jealousies and quarrels. The people will vote against the ruling party for its bad administration. The falsehood of its promises is felt by all. Whoever takes the voters to the booth, whatever be the conveyance supplied and whatever be the scale of entertainments and

the bribery, I feel there will be a tempestuous vote against the ruling clique. The money collected will be spent to no purpose.

The Congress Party's total dependence on ill-gotten money and on its ministers holding office during the elections, and its anxiety to keep Opposition parties apart, conclusively prove its moral bankruptcy. People will rise in revolt and refuse to give it a further lease of authority.

I may be all wrong in my beliefs. But I cling to a faith that is founded on *satyam eva jayate* and Divine rule. Let us trust that Power and fight the battle for freedom, for *swatantra* in life and occupation.

A friend writes to me from Italy, one who was in India for a long time during an acute phase of our struggle for freedom; he writes to say that he 'imagines I am a humanitarian who does not believe in the stupidity of egalitarianism'. He is quite right. The egalitarian socialism of the Congress is a fallacy and a fraud, a mere election-carrot for the donkey the Congress takes the electorate to be. We must kick the rider down from our back, rider and carrot. The mechanism of wealth-production is something quite different from the socialism of the Congress, which ignores the incentive, the capital, the frugal management and the output of work needed for increase of wealth.

The Congress brand of socialism makes the rich richer through the monopolies and privileges the party sells to them. It makes the poor poorer by reason of the rising prices, resulting from the inflation brought about by its improvident Plan expenditure and deficit financing. The Congress brand of socialism does not reduce but makes greater the difference between the rich and the poor; and this, both materially and spiritually, through the class conflict it generates.

The creed of the Congress trusting in officials and their capacity, in preference to private producers and distributors, is

ruinous to workers and ruinous to all concerned. The loss and ruin are already there but covered by foreign aid and loans, and the mystification of government accounts. The gigantic parasitism on foreign aid is a demonstration of the dependence we have involved ourselves in by our foolish and un-Gandhian ambitions after Independence. The situation, judged even from the mere material angle, is one of deplorable dependence making a ludicrous show on the background of non-alignment.

March 4, 1961 *Swarajya*

DON'T INTRUDE IN CO-OPERATION

The Governor of the Reserve Bank, Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, uttered a warning that it is not in the country's interest that "political parties should intrude into the business of co-operation" and he proceeds to give evidence of such intrusion. It cannot be outside the Bank Governor's knowledge that the ruling party is everywhere trying to capture all co-operative as well as village administrative organizations, so as to make them powerful instruments for the success of the Congress Party at the next general elections. His warning is, therefore, intended for the ears of the ruling party, unless indeed politics is defined as opposition to the Congress, and that support to the Congress is not politics but co-operation commendable. One may expect the Reserve Bank Governor's warning will be misapplied and serve only to make the Congress Party's work easier by applying warning only to the non-Congress elements.

Jefferson said almost in a prophetic mood that the concentration of all powers in the same hands is the definition of despotism, whether exercised by many voices or by one. He was speaking of political power. We now see the power of despotism encircling all economic activity and all the occupations of citizens.

March 4, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE QUEEN'S VISIT

DISCUSSING the President's address in Parliament this year, Mr. Surendra Mahanty charged the Government with extravagant expenditure over the reception to the British Queen. He may not be right in his surmise that Rs. 25 crores was spent by government. But the arrangements were certainly done on a liberal scale.

It was a unique occasion and a wave of enthusiasm shared both by the Government and people loosened the purse-strings all round. Commercial houses erected welcome arches and illuminated their offices. There was no inclination to stint expenditure. On the contrary, people vied with one another in demonstrating their affection. People moved from the countryside and spent money to reach the metropolitan centres which were visited by the Queen. And no one was sorry after the event. The people were charmed by the Queen's simple and gracious manner everywhere. It was almost like a re-conquest of India, not mere political re-annexation but a conquest of India's heart.

There is a psychology behind the immense popular welcome which it may be worthwhile to understand. Had the royal visit been made in the early years of the decade after Independence, there would no doubt have been a big enough welcome. The graceful way in which the British relinquished authority, and retired under the leadership of the Labour Government, would have found sincere recognition and appreciation. But it would not have been so markedly enthusiastic as the reception in 1961 has been. The people of India have had reason to appreciate monarchy and British administration, as a result of many years' painful experience of party government in India. Mass psychology works in a sure and simple way. The crowds were not guided by sophisticated reasoning. They have seen enough to

feel a glow of pleasure at seeing a Queen of England who embodied all the charm, all the innocence and all the grace of a sovereign in her own right as contra-distinguished from party bosses and party rulers, and all their arrogance and littlenesses. The people of India are more prone to such nostalgia than people of other countries. They have had good rajas and rulers who always tried to give to the people good and just, though old-fashioned, government. If the Mysore Maharaja moves out anywhere, even today, in the old Mysore territory, one can see the people's homage flowing in abundance towards the ex-ruler. That he is Governor now is nowhere in the picture. It is as Maharaja that they love and revere him.

March 4, 1961 *Swarajya*

CONGRESS STATISM OR GANDHIAN WAY?

Statism is the common characteristic of communism, Fascism, Nazism, and the socialism of the Indian National Congress. Indeed it is the working point in all these forms of authoritarian national policy, whichever group takes the reins of authority in the name of the people. All of them hope to achieve their goal of governance by State control of all activities, the freedom that is left to individuals being reduced to the barest unavoidable minimum. The expressed goal of all these types of authoritarian rule is popular welfare and the even distribution of the material things of life. The goal attracts popular support and *that* gives them power. Ideas of what is happiness may differ somewhat among them but there is broad agreement among them all to lay emphasis on material possessions as the only means of happiness. All these schools of Statism agree on this, that the authority of the State and the force of its executive arm can alone maintain the discipline necessary for maximum production of wealth, and compel the sacrifices necessary for its even distribution.

Opposed to these schools of compulsion is the way of freedom and maximum provision for individual enterprise and incentive which Gandhiji advocated and which the Swatantra Party stands for. The profit motive is the impulse at the base of production, and competition is the check on its unhealthy dominance. The inner policeman replaces the compulsion of the State and the authority entrusted to State officials, religion and conscience being the source of discipline, not secular sanctions. The drive for individual profit is checked by competition and the discipline of spirit, by which ownership is transferred into trusteeship.

The objectors to this entrustment of the discipline of the individual to conscience and religion apprehend that this inner sanction may not work. But, on the other hand, authority vested in the officials of the State cannot be expected to steer clear of the temptations that always beset authority, and there is the universally accepted fact that efficiency of public management is inferior to management with personal interest. Since production is the primary requisite and basic element of national economy, what is necessary and most contributory for this must take precedence over what may possibly be better for even distribution. Realism calls for a balance between good and evil, and from this follows priority to the essentials of production rather than to the equality of distribution at the expense of production. The individual's incentive is at the base of all production. In production under public management, the wages and salaries take the place of the profit-interest in private enterprise. This, too, is personal interest but is far inferior as an efficient productive incentive.

Of all these types of Statism, socialism may perhaps be described as one that avoids expressed and explicit dependence on compulsion. But this is a difference only in appearance. It must fall back on State compulsion in actual practice. Otherwise, it fails to be a school of governance. It becomes just semantic jugglery by creating a confusion between goal and

means. Social justice and general welfare are aims, not means, and they are also the aims of a free economy.

To throw away the natural check on error and wrong-doing, namely, competition, and to rely on the integrity, diligence, and loyalty of officials controlled by some minority group, acting in the name of the people, is to abandon the sure way and taking a very doubtful path. The path of State regulation has been amply demonstrated to be a failure. There is no guarantee, to put it most mildly, that the objective will be attained. On the other hand, the losses involved are certain, the greatest among them being the loss of individual freedom with all its far-reaching consequences in the material as well as spiritual field.

Minimum government and maximum freedom for the individual, decentralized responsibility instead of centralized planning and concentration of authority, and a moral revolution instead of legislative compulsion, the inner law taking the place of the external policeman, leading to the gradual transformation of personal ownership into trusteeship for the community, without detriment to the fundamental principle, the dyanmics of wealth, namely, the personal interest of the man who works and sacrifices and risks what he has lawfully earned and acquired, in order to obtain an increase of wealth—this is the Gandhian pattern of economic and political life which is reiterated by the Swatantra Party and for which it has raised the standard of revolt against the Statism of the Congress Party. Individual power is a cow. It is not to be cut up and made into beef; it should be kept alive and fed. It will give abundant milk, the milk of national prosperity, and multiply itself even as a cow does.

March 11, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE SWATANTRA PHILOSOPHY

Leave to live by no man's leave, underneath the Law.—KIPLING.

THIS is what the Swatantra Party fights for. Leave to live by no man's leave underneath the Law—for liberty and the rule of law. What is the present state of things and who is responsible for it? For everything by way of individual contribution to national life, a licence is required; and, for every licence, many trips to Delhi and many a go-between to get it done; and he will not do it for nothing. And after many secret manoeuvres, when the licence is got, the licensee becomes a monopolist and an ardent supporter of the party that maintains his precious advantage over his fellows. What a sad state of things in a developing economy! This was not so in 1900 or at any other time under foreign rule. Men were free, though the country was not free. Today, the country is free but citizens, traders, industrialists and others live under licence and work under choking regulations.

The Congress Party is responsible for this state of things—this continuance of an indefinite and permanent state of emergency, and its annoying controls and regulations.

The Swatantra Party wants this state of things to go. It will not go unless the Congress Party is defeated at the polls and a government comes into power, which believes in freedom, which has faith in the people, and which thinks more of what the nation wants and less about the continued predominance of its party position.

We want a government that does not seek to centralize all power. Concentration of all powers in the same hands means despotism, whether exercised by many voices or by one, as great Jefferson said. Concentration of power in the same hands and exercised by a political party leads to corruption, parasitism, sale

of privileges, injustice, and a scramble for positions in the party, and general fall of moral standards. All this we have seen. If a fresh mandate is secured for this regime for another period of five years, woe unto integrity, unto liberty and democracy.

The Swatantra Party's battle is not a battle for patronage of power. It is a battle for the more orderly division of functions between the State and citizen, between the instruments of production and the organ of regulations. The liberty of the citizen should be subject to the State's over-all supervision, so that liberty may not become licence. On the other hand, the authority and powers of the State should be controlled by the fundamental rights of citizens. These fundamental rights are on a higher level than the laws made by the legislatures and so it is they are embodied in the Constitution and not in an Act of Parliament.

The rule of law loses its essential quality if it is to be respected in some cases and ignored in other cases, in accordance with the shouts of the crowd. Its essential character is its invariability. There is no rule of law if it varies from man to man or group to group. When once the rule of law, respect for liberty, freedom of contract, and the right to earn and acquire are allowed to be eaten into, the corrosion proceeds from one point to another. The first interference leads to a sliding place whereon the downward course of liberty is all too easy.

There is in the air a great urge to produce to expand and to progress. Men are eager for enterprise; but governmental regulation with its brood of touts, to use Pothan Joseph's apt description, descends on production and enterprise like a killing frost and gives no chance for progress. Freedom of contract and the right to work, acquire and own property without any uncertainty, form the basis of the rule of law, without which freedom of person loses all meaning and reality. Ownership should be respected and evolved by conscience and enlightenment into trusteeship. This would be progress, real social welfare and

liberty, all combined. If certainty and the rule of law disappear, there will be no incentive, no dynamic force for production. The Swatantra Party's battle is not for any particular class but for the essential conditions for progress without loss of liberty. Any plan of production on the foundation of Statism is bound to end in authoritarianism as we have already seen in our own country, even though the trappings of democracy are retained.

March 18, 1961 *Swarajya*

NEGATIVE

The all-out interference of the ruling party in the life of the people including trade, transport, industry and agriculture, closely approaching the totalitarian way of governance, compels the opposition to follow a policy of total resistance to this, which gives to it the appearance superficially described as 'negative'. The most positive policy for any party or group of people determined to oppose the totalitarian policy of the Congress Party is the democratic negative of it.

There can be nothing more definite or concrete than freedom of occupation, sacredness of contract and property, and freedom and security for individual energy. The freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution of 1950 must be restored in full. To give this the derogatory name of 'negative' is to walk into the totalitarian trap. The reign of controls, the policy of selling monopolies to the favoured, and other connected consequences of totalitarian rule, are all very 'positive' no doubt, but they are positively injurious to the nation. Opposition to foreign rule was Swaraj. Opposition to the totalitarian stranglehold over individual life is Swatantra; and the Swatantra Party is dedicated to this.

The nation will progress and prosper by virtue of its inherent vitality. What is wanted is that the removal of the adverse force of foreign rule should be followed up by the elimination of the incubus of State restrictions which are worse than the foreign rule from which we have been emancipated.

March 18, 1961 *Swarajya*

BAD DAYS AHEAD

INDIRECT taxation whether it be an excise or customs duty, or a raising of transport charges through any one of several methods, tends to a rise in prices all round. This results in increased cost of living and of all industrial production, small scale or large scale. Ignorance or, worse still, limited knowledge on the part of those in authority is disastrous. Power carries with it responsibility but this is difficult to be borne satisfactorily when supported 'by a little knowledge' which is dangerous.

If a 'superior' quality of any popularly demanded commodity is made costlier than hitherto by the levy of an additional tax, a part of the consumption naturally shifts to one of a lower quality, and the latter follows the law of supply and demand, and immediately (and in anticipation) also goes up in price. The pattern of consumption is a closely integrated and complex thing. Any interference at one point alters the figure all over. One, therefore, with knowledge of the economy of trade and consumption must expect a rise of prices all round when new levies are put on fifty odd items, in order to raise Rs. 60 crores of additional revenue. Commercial circles believe that this is an under-estimate of the likely receipts.

Probably an example from a tangible aspect of urban life may make it easier for the Finance Minister and other members

of Parliament to appreciate the point. If an additional tax be levied on terraced and two-storey houses, it will raise the rents not only of such houses, but will push up the rents for tiled and one-storey houses also. It will not be an unreasonable consequence of the new levy or something to be surprised of or angry about.

Any minister with well-equipped advisers to help him to appreciate and anticipate trends and consequences of new imposts should not be surprised at what has happened after the budget announcements. But our Finance Minister is surprised and angry, and talks of preventive detention ! The authors of repressive laws framed to meet emergencies did not conceive such laws as available for regulating and checking prices of commodities and services that rise in natural response to budget proposals. A police mentality cannot understand the complicated workings of trade and business in a non-communist country. Long before the budget announcements were made on the floor of the house, indirect taxes on commodities and services had been anticipated as a result of the socalled 'Plan', and a rise in prices was forecast which would worsen the life of the poorer sections. One who sets fire to the verandah roof cannot object to or be angry with the fire when it spreads to the whole building. Let the Finance Minister understand that what he has done will result in many more surprises yet. All costs including the cost of the administration and the costs of industrial and agricultural production, including the wage bill, all over the country, will go up, perhaps not so immediately as the shooting up of market prices, but all the same surely and steadily. Neither economic laws nor an entire community can be put under preventive detention however 'firm' (that is, presumptuous) and ignorant, the administration may be !

Some 'concessions' have been made. These have been commented on by the press. Members of Parliament as well as the Finance Minister may easily see that these socalled concessions make no material change in the situation.

It is unfortunate that the permanent civil service has got into the habit of adjusting its advice to ministerial errors and perversities and, instead of being a check and a safeguard against the dominance of politics over administrative prudence, augments and accentuates error.

The two greatest afflictions the people suffer from today are high prices and an administration that at all levels sacrifices fair-play and justice on the altar of the ruling party's politics. Coercion cannot set right what has followed the budget announcement of new taxes.

The farmer's life will be hit badly as a result, direct and indirect, of the new levies. He stands at the bottom to bear the total brunt of all the rise in prices. The cry will be to sit heavily on the prices of food-stuffs on the ground that they must remain where they stand whatever may have happened at other levels affecting the lives of cultivators in one way or another, the idea being that the price of food-stuffs at the base of the life pattern will detrimentally affect all prices. The country cannot prosper or be happy with the peasants, the weavers and other artisans repressed and consigned to suffer all the weight of administrative mis-management. It would be foolish for the business community to be happy over their escape from any new direct levies. They will have to prepare for difficult days as a result of these indirect taxes.

March 25, 1961 *Swarajya*

ELECTION COSTS

A recently published book in America gives data and interesting conclusions about money spent in electioneering campaigns in that country. For a much richer people than we are, the esti-

mated total of a hundred crores is really not staggering on the background of the money spent by candidates and government in poverty-stricken India.

To the question 'Does money win elections?' the study reported in this book gives the following answer : Money has more influence on party nomination than on the outcome of electoral contests. The giving of money for electoral campaigns is felt by the rich people of that country as a mark of civil virtue. A few take out insurance by donating to both parties and to competing candidates.

Another conclusion of this American study of electioneering may not apply to India—that he who pays the piper does not always call the tune. May be this 'not always' means, more often than not, it does.

It seems in America millions of people contribute, not just a few 'fat cats'. Altogether we are told about three million persons donated money to a party or candidate in the 1952 elections.

We have a very important conclusion brought out in this study about election laws. "Unrealistic limits on the amount of spending and giving encourage a cynical dishonesty; and financial management is manipulated to fit impossible statutory requirements." This has also been referred to by many observers in India. The current Congress Party collections bear no relation to the limits prescribed in the People's Representation Act. The party probably plans suitable manipulation 'to fit the statutory requirements'.

In a poor country such as India is, it is inexcusable waste to follow the pattern of Western electioneering. Among all the things that rightly cry for nationalization, elections stand first. If voting is a public duty and democracy should be based on direct universal suffrage in this continental terrain, the proce-

dure of the ballot-box should be reversed. The ballot-box should be taken to the voter at State expense instead of asking the voters to go to the booths. The procedure of census operations should *mutatis mutandis* be adopted at elections. Mobile polling booths should serve the people instead of asking voters to move to the polling stations and making ineffective laws to regulate the engaging of conveyances by candidates and parties. This revolutionary change will, in the net result, be less expensive to the nation than the present competitive private industry principle forced on candidates. And there will be less scope for corrupt practices. Hurdles there are, but they can be overcome.

March 25, 1961 *Swarajya*

WHO IS REACTIONARY?

THE communist leader, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has declared that his party will not seek any electoral alliance with the Swatantra Party. Everyone knows that the Swatantra Party has never looked upon an alliance with the communists as possible or desirable. This declaration of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta is, therefore, superfluous.

He describes the Swatantra Party as reactionary. A certificate from the Communist Party to this effect is a great compliment. The Prime Minister of India and his party may look upon approbation from the communists as a proof of worthiness. But the Swatantra Party looks upon communist opposition as a guarantee of our sailing in the right direction. The Congress and the Communist Party, both turn their sails to totalitarian enslavement of the people. It is an Oxford boat race between them, and the Congress administration is proceeding fast to its goal. The Swatantra Party opposes this and the word 'reac-

tionary' coming from the communist leader is a recognition of our opposition to communist policy, whether it is directed by the Congress or directly by the communists. Condemnation by communist leaders is a reliable mariner's compass in the reverse to those who stand for freedom.

The philosophy of the Communist Party and the way of life it seeks to impose on the people are the most reactionary of all world conceptions. It seeks to subordinate human personality to the will of a minority group in possession of the instruments of violence. Modern civilization's goal is freedom, and full scope for the development of human personality and not its enslavement. Communist policy is the opposite of human civilization.

Men may use the same word with varying imports. 'Reactionary' and 'retrograde' used by the communists indicate opposition to the way they want us to go. What is reactionary to the communist mind is freedom in the view of progressive humans. What is retrograde to the communists means advance in the language of freedom-loving people. *Vice versa,* what is progress to the Communist Party is advance towards tyranny in the opinion of liberty loving people. The Congress is going that way and is receiving approbation from the communists. Thinking people should beware of this policy conspiracy between the Congress and communism camouflaged by seeming conflict.

March 25, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE GRINDING OF THE INDIVIDUAL

THE Swatantra Party is convinced that progress does not require the confiscation of freedom or of the fundamental rights which are essential for freedom. We have oddly enough to wage a

battle for freedom under Swaraj ! It is not a situation for which there is any parallel in history—especially, our effort to build up a new party and give battle to the Congress which has seized all economic power and is in effective possession of all State authority, and is bent on using it to the utmost extent for party purposes. As was said in America in 1789, "we are in a wilderness without a single footstep to guide us". We have, however, one precedent and a not very distant one for relying on the justice of our cause and on Divine help, the precedent of Gandhiji's non-violent battle against the powerful British Government which ended in complete victory.

To quote what Graham Hutton has said about the nations of Europe, modifying it to apply to our own condition, it took a century of painful advance up to 1947 to achieve democratic self-government, but within a decade of it, that achievement is in retreat threatened by a monstrous regiment of State functionaries. State authority controls and regiments all individual activities for which there is no parallel in our past history. This establishment of omnipotent, omni-competent State authority is more dangerous to personal freedom than anything done by autocrats in the history of India. Centralized State authority controls all the activities and enterprises of men, through its farthest extremities in local bureaucracy. The individual man or woman as producer and consumer, as citizen and unit of a family, is swamped beneath the rules and regulations of centralized authority. Therewith comes a narrowing of the bounds of personal development just when they should have been widened, a stereotyping of behaviour when new potentialities should have led to wider variations, and a banality which is vulgarity and materialism. Freedom is being whittled down by the extension of the economic ways and means of the State, inflation being the worst of all the instruments which subvert personal freedom. State expenditure and increasing taxation have become intolerably and inefficiently burdensome. Inflation has been adopted as a policy, on the basis of a myth that there can be no economic growth without inflation.

Too much and too rapid State action means too much State spending. Too much and too fast State spending means a rapid multiplication of controls, restrictions on production and consumption, plus higher taxes. The levying of excessive taxes on individuals and companies means a building up of costs all round. This leads inevitably to bigger supply of money and credit than of the things on which it can be spent, which is inflation. Roman and other histories have proved beyond doubt that this inflation must lead to national downfall and disaster. Graham Hutton's book on *Inflation and Society*, a copy of which is available in the library of the Delhi Parliament, deserves to be more attentively and widely read by members of Parliament. Those who would rather have a mixture of amusement with tragedy may draw the same lessons as to the limits of reasonable taxation from Northcote Parkinson's book, *The Law and the Profits.* In the grinding of the individual to nothingness, the most effective instrument is the steam-roller of taxation.

March 25, 1961 *Swarajya*

SUBSTITUTION OF STATE FOR INDIVIDUAL

Apart from the defects and differences in the administration, the goal of the Congress is general welfare, as is that of the Swatantra or any other party. The instrument for achieving this goal is, according to the Congress, its socialism. The Swatantra Party plans to achieve general welfare through prosperity without loss of individual freedom.

It is common ground for all parties that greater production is a pre-requisite for general welfare. The question is, what is the incentive for greater production? For, the incentive is always the best plan. The need for greater production and the knowledge that it is necessary are the only incentives which

socialism depends on. The Swatantra Party adds to this the personal interest of the individuals contributing to the production. The Congress plan, viz., socialism, involves loss of individual freedom and substitution of individual initiative by State dictation.

Socialism is not an end in itself. It is an instrument for the achievement of an object, viz., general welfare. Hence we have to examine the efficiency of the instrument, as well as the disadvantageous by-products that issue from the instrument.

The communists as well as the Congress Party want the life of individual citizens to be totally absorbed by the State. This is the *moksha* which socialists desire to achieve. The Swatantra Party also aims at a revolution but it is a moral revolution, by which all individual property becomes a trust. This moral, not legal, identification of nation and citizen leaves the citizen free, consciously to enjoy that identification. In the socialist philosophy the identification is a legal process by which nothing is left of the citizen after his total absorption and disappearance in the omnipotent State. We do not want an *advaitic* absorption ; to pursue the analogy we want a *visishtaadvaitic* unity which is *aananda.*

The socialism of the Congress as distinguished from the socialism of Gandhiji can be more correctly described as State socialism. Statism is a better name for the creed of the Congress. It means inefficiency in production and distribution, through an uninterested army of paid State officials and agents whose perquisites do not depend on, and are not related to, the quality or quantity of production. Monopolies at all points in favour of selected individuals and groups, partisanship and corruption in selecting these individuals and groups, an endless chain of power and corruption, the policing that these call for and its concomitant oppression and annoyance of the innocent, these are the results of State socialism. Apathy instead of interest results where creative energy is to play its part as a natural consequence of substituting the State for the individual.

The entire ideology of socialism is based on a huge fallacy, that creative energy can be isolated from personal interest. The most obvious demonstration of the fallacy would be to order a secretariat to produce a painting instead of asking a painter to do it. An equally disastrous and actual demonstration would be what is called 'co-operative' cultivation instead of letting each peasant look after and acquire something for himself from his own farm. Ownership is the natural mechanism for production which combines interest in production with liability to pay a share of the yield to the State for general purposes. This is elementary but it needs reiteration, as socialism seeks to ignore this fundamental basis of human activity. Seeking to get production increased or even maintained at present level, not only without incentives but also keeping disincentive swords of Damocles over the head of individual prosperity, is as futile as the effort in the mechanical world to produce energy and perpetual motion without expending power or fuel, ignoring the law of conservation of energy.

Individual freedom and incentives to work to full capacity are hopelessly irreconcilable with the stifling collectivism for which the Congress Party seeks a nationwide mandate in the 1962 elections.

April 1, 1961 *Swarajya*

PLANNED UNHAPPINESS

THE confusion between aim and instrument is disclosed even in the talks of very eminent thinkers. What is one to say when Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru rises to tell the 34th annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry that "once the industrialists accepted India's objective of a socialist society, other differences can be resolved by discussion"? What is a sociailst society? Has he in his mind a society wedded to

the particular way of organization of activities that is propounded by him? Must a society accept a particular political dogma to become the society he wants? One may be certain he did not mean to say this. He must know that means are changeable, that means may be found to be wrong and be revoked, and therefore, it is the *aim* that society should accept, not the *means* suggested by one confident philosopher or another. And as for the aim, is it welfare such as would produce general happiness or is it an egalitarian condition that exists only in the cloudy imagination of one set of outmoded philosophers? Does it mean that no one should in 1962 hold as his own more than 27½ acres (exactly calculated by State legislators through an arithmetic studied by them as producing a socialist State)? What is to happen in 1972 when probably the family has multiplied into thrice its original size?

Let me plead : "Philosopher, keep your eye on the aim and purpose, do not get attached to the means you have fallen in love with, and impose it on the people who admire your wisdom which you know too well is an unreliable instrument. The argument of extremes is yet another deceptive road to truth : to multiply your opponents' proposition until it expands into absurdity, and then to claim you have disproved it. What about your own proposition? It is equally capable of being expanded into an absurdity."

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru told the assembled businessmen that "controls were inevitable for directing private investment to public good or else there would be social disaster." Some controls were inevitable, *ergo* we must adopt an economy bristling with thorns and stifling repressions. Production and distribution must be entirely subjected to bureaucratic regulation and everyone must bow and cringe before omnipotent ignoramuses, for this is socialism. "Do you want free economy?" he asked, and argued that because free economy carried to the extreme could not stand, let us have Statism. This is what I call the argument of extremes —a fallacious method of proving anything to be wrong. Some

controls are necessary, so (he argues) let us have State-regulated economy all round—this is not logic but fallacy : even as it would be fallacious for me to say freedom is good, so let us have no government. Because in modern conditions total freedom is not possible and some State-control is a necessary evil, let us not submit to a regimented, 'planned' economy and extinguish incentive, the mother of industry.

The wellbeing of India's teeming millions, by all means ! But not a dogma founded on the destruction of human incentive and conceived without taking natural laws into account and which you think will produce the wellbeing of India's teeming millions. The wellbeing of the teeming millions can be steadily achieved only by production and yet more production; and this can be brought about by industry, and this again only by incentive, saving and capital, and not by taxation and repression. The first fruits of your planned economy have already been seen : the indirect taxes of this year's budget and the rise in prices following those taxes, and the agony of the poor people and the lower middle groups. The Finance Minister sows the wind and he objects to the whirlwind. If these taxes and some more similar taxes in due course get across Parliament this year, and in the succeeding years, we shall have a merry game of industrial and administrative costs shooting up, strikes and lock-outs, references to tribunals and desperate appeals, and we shall have the paradox of the planned unhappiness of a socialist State. Whatever country may be suitable for Statism, this population and this continent of ours cannot prosper under a central, omnivorous Statism directed by a body of politicians unrivalled for want of equipment for the task undertaken by them and by a body of officials whose ignorance of the trades and professions entrusted to their mercies are notorious.

April 1, 1961 *Swarajya*

NEHRU'S WORLD POLICY

WHEN the reports came to India of what happened at the Commonwealth Conference in London and of Dr. Verwoerd's announcement of his decision to withdraw from the Commonwealth, in a statement to the P.T.I. on March 18, I pointed out that it was not all victory for the Afro-Asian bloc. It is a case of the wounded tiger and we must be prepared for a more-than-ever fierce *apartheid*. The Indian community will be the worst sufferers.

I pointed out also that Britain and the NATO Powers would not diminish but augment their friendly relationship with South Africa, thereby keeping the latter's world position unchanged and perhaps even improved.

I further explained that the South African Premier will make an effort, in course of time, to justify his stand and demonstrate that *apartheid* did not mean neglect of the coloured people but separate and side-by-side development. South Africa will try to justify the philosophy of isolated development of white as well as black people, without endangering either interests or letting the integrity of their culture to be injured by mutual adulteration. The South African administration, I said, are likely to make more liberal grants and give greater attention than before to the material needs of the black people. From all but political and emotional angles, I said, there may be the semblance of betterment of conditions; news coming from Johannesburg confirms this forecast.

Discounting the probability of a violent explosion of the native element against the rule of the white minority, I pointed out that the conditions for such a revolution were not yet there. The South African State has not been weakened but indeed the relationship with Britain has been improved. There is no internal decay either, which is always the forerunner of revolution.

The victory achieved at the Commonwealth Conference is much like what Pyrrhus achieved against the Romans at Heraclea, where more was lost than won. Here is a case where the precious rope that served to pull a heavy weight in the direction we desired, has snapped. We have overdone the sanction, causing its automatic termination.

Mr. Menzies, the Australian Prime Minister, said in London (March 20) that while he did not agree with South African policy he formed the impression that Mr. Verwoerd was a man of intense integrity and courtesy and that the South African Premier "came out of the conference with the very high respect of the people who attended." "Nothing was more impressive to all of us in the conference," he said, "than the way in which Dr. Verwoerd with obvious honesty, great courtesy and great lucidity explained his policy." Mr. Menzies declared that with all his difference of opinion from Dr. Verwoerd's policy of *apartheid*, he himself stood for the right of any Commonwealth country to run its affairs in its own way. "Why cannot we disagree," he asked, "with South Africa's policy without pushing South Africa out? It is monstrous for members of the Commonwealth to sit in judgment one upon another. Don't let us have a humbug. I would not tolerate being lectured to by other people. There will not be any Commonwealth if it becomes a court with people on trial, because we shall all expel each other. The Commonwealth is not a subdivision of the U.N." Dr. Verwoerd stated at Johannesburg immediately on his return, "we have released ourselves from the pressure of the Afro-Asians who have been taking over the Commonwealth. We have strengthened our friendship with Britain and relations between the two countries are now better because we helped Britain get out of a difficult position by not laying on her the invidious choice between other members and ourselves."

These statements of the South African and Australian Premiers bring out the subtle and real features of the situation totally different from the Afrasian sense of triumph.

Reuter reports that " South Africa has announced the creation of a post of Director of Bantu Development, whose special task will be the faster development of Bantu areas. It is the intention of the Government to give special attention to developing Bantu homelands. A five year plan has been drawn up aimed at their development at an increased tempo and in an energetic manner ".

The dynamics of political pressure, internal or international, cannot be ignored if we wish to retain the power of a sanction. If the limit of tensile strength is crossed, the instrument through which force is directed snaps. Mr. Menzies has pointed this out very forcibly. It is true that South Africa was not expelled and that she chose to cut herself off. But this was a result of what was done and how it was done by the Afrasians. In fact, between Britain and South Africa there was mutual assistance towards the cutting of the Gordian knot.

A clear contradiction has unconsciously developed in Mr. Nehru's policy. He has been rightly pleading all along that whatever may be communist China's policy, be it right or thoroughly wrong, China should be admitted in the U.N., so that world opinion might obtain the jurisdiction and the opportunity to educate her into right policies. Mr. Nehru has also often (particularly during the Suez crisis) justified India's remaining in the Commonwealth in spite of distasteful events and circumstances, on similar grounds, viz., because it was good to keep as large a world group as possible together tending in the end to a common world organization. All this is right but strategy resulting in cutting off South Africa's connection with the Commonwealth is a contradiction of this philosophy. Here we have achieved the opposite of what Mr. Nehru stood for in respect of India's membership in the Commonwealth and China's admission in the U.N. And what is this ' Commonwealth ' from which South Africa has been ousted, wherein the link of a common monarchy has been cut off, wherein presidents may rule in some units without any parliament, wherein immigration laws prevent the flow

into one unit of people from another unit, wherein there is still political *apartheid,* e.g., in Ceylon, and wherein military pacts may be formed by units independently of one another, e.g., Pakistan? This unreal co-existence in the Commonwealth serves perhaps to keep an aura around the British monarchy and a pale memory of the lost empire. But it does not signify anything else.

April 1, 1961 *Swarajya*

FIFTY CRORES

THE peasant farmers, not only the poor ones among them but even those who are better off, need credit by way of quick and easy loans and such as should not be associated with a contemporaneous feeling that it is likely to be written off rather than being duly discharged. Agricultural capital is essential. The need for it cannot be got rid of by expropriation of the larger holdings and free gifts of fractions of the land among the poorest, in return for their votes.

The need for supplying easy credit is rightly recognized but it is not recognized that it should be supplied on a non-political basis. It is not recognized that by spreading class conflict and illwill in the rural area, the position has been worsened by what the Congress has done. No one is inclined to confess his own fault. But what is worse is that, having aggravated the situation, the Congress Party proposes to get hold of public money obtained by the Central Government through taxes and what not, and to distribute the money among poor peasants giving the doles the appearance of gifts from the party. The agency for the distribution and its discretionary powers will all help in thickly painting the process as favours and benefits from the great Congress Party which they should support at the election and return to power for another lustrum. In return, the borrowers will indi-

rectly be made to feel that these are not really loans but amounts that will be written off upon due performance on the part of the voters. The whole process is calculated immorality and will debase the public sense of civic rectitude.

All this money—the Chief Minister of Madras said he would get Rs. 50 crores for this purpose for Tamil Nad from the Plan pool—has been got from the tax-payers or obtained on mortgage of the nation's future and deficit financing, kicking up the price spiral. The jugglery only helps inflation in every way. These amounts are to go to the voters as if they were boons of the Congress Party.

We know, from what the Prime Minister once sadly observed, what happens to these moneys sunk by the Centre on agriculture. The new doles hastily distributed to poor peasant voters will not meet with better fortune or yield better results than what the P.M. deplored on a memorable occasion. The natural source of credit and co-operation is in the countryside, in the bigger land-holders living in the rural area who, alas, have been almost irretrievably alienated from their poorer brothers and ruined beyond remedy, materially and spiriturally, and disabled from fulfilling their proper functions in the country's rural economy, all as a result of Congress policy.

Let the peasants know that the moneys that are going to be doled out to them are from national assets and tax money and are not partymen's or ministers' generosity. They may vote for a better government, notwithstanding these doles being received. The plan of seizing fifty crores from Plan money, and doling the amount among poor peasants on the eve of the elections, is a patent mechanism for vote-buying. If this is not to be the case, let the bonafides be established by the constitution of non-party agencies above suspicion for the distribution of the money and let the procedure be such as to avoid the implications above deplored.

April 1, 1961 *Swarajya*

OUTLAWING COMMUNAL PARTIES

NOTHING can lend itself to abuse so easily and tempt the ruling clique to legal and moral error as the proposed ban on groups taking part in the general elections, including the disfranchisement of parties "which, though not having communal names, have as their objective activities on communal basis". It can be easily seen that judgment is in this matter reserved for the party holding on to power and executive authority during and for a good deal of time in the critical period before the elections. Is it necessary to explain how all this would lead to action fatal to democracy and amount to a denial of all the guarantees and the foundations of civic life enshrined in the Constitution?

If a group of people like the Jews, on whom unfortunate fame has been thrust in the history of the Western world for martyrdom, organize themselves for self-protection and advancement, is it a crime or is it to result in the loss of such rights as democracy offers to citizens in the shape of freedom of association and political action? All attacks on socalled communal bodies are attacks on minorities by the majority, and are not only unconstitutional but mean. If the Brahmins of South India, for instance, organized themselves against persecution—they have not done so and they are not likely ever to—is their organization to be politically banned and prevented from finding expression in the ballot-box? If the Catholics form themselves into a political organization in defence of rights, or for the promotion of their status in a society where they are treated as a dangerous or undesirable minority, must they be prevented by using the law-making power, absolute and unlimited, of the oppressing majority? Must the Hindus be free to use their majority strength in India and call Muslim self-defence communal, while their own communal activities go by the grand name of secular democracy? There are minorities in India, varying from district to district, whose interests must be protected and cannot in justice be outlawed by the artificial and unjust procedure of giving them a bad

name and hanging them on that charge. Law-makers, as the ruling majority constitutes itself, are treading on dangerous ground, dangerous to democracy though tempting to power-hunger, when they decide in private conference to launch a programme of outlawing against their opponents. The Swatantra Party is in no danger by reason of these confabulations, but that party stands for freedom, and objects to this line of thought that threatens to destroy the freedom of the minorities.

And what is this sin of communalism? Communalism to which we may object is a type of narrowmindedness based on caste or denomination. Any grouping for protecting the interests threatened, or under oppression, is not communalism but is an exercise of the right of association and must be deemed lawful. How is a trade union more entitled to protection than an Indian community having a denominational name? How is an association of cotton merchants, or those in jute or tea business, less offensive to the public interest than an association of Jains or Catholics or Muslims or Kayasthas or Brahmins (or Negroes or men of Indian origin, say, in South Africa or of Tamils in Ceylon)? Life is one and indivisible. Such groups cannot be enfranchised or disfranchised according to the whims and fancies of political classifiers. Life has the right inherent to protect itself. An association of vegetarians is necessary, when vegetarians are ridiculed, harassed and oppressed, and it would be unreasonable to say we may have socialists and communists as such, but not vegetarians as such. Is there any denomination in the world narrower or more fanatical than the communist party in India or elsewhere? And is Congress not a caste now? Does anything hold it together but careerism and a caste feeling? "I belong to the Congress caste, how can I give it up and live safely?"—this is what holds most people in the Congress. When communists can walk heads erect to the polling booth in democracy, must a Muslim or Catholic or Brahmin or Sikh be prevented because he believes in his scriptures? I warn my friends against this foolish and unconstitutional enterprise.

April 8, 1961 *Swarajya*

INCREDIBLE SIMPLICITY

A short notice question in the Rajya Sabha led to an interesting debate and important disclosures. The Prime Minister took part in this debate and he confessed that the help of Russian pilots was being taken in schooling our own pilots to defend our border against China ! These Soviet pilots sit with Indian pilots and teach them to manage the Russian planes bought by our Defence Ministry to fly over high altitudes, planned for the purpose of strengthening the border defence where Chinese aggression is apprehended. It is indeed a strange plan to engage the services of Soviet personnel and Soviet planes for defending the Indian border against the aggression of the Chinese Government. The Prime Minister gave the assurance that "every precaution was taken" by the Government to protect secrets being carried away by the communist pilots. These assurances are, it may be said without intending any disrespect, the limit of simple-mindedness. What greater or more dangerous secret is there in the business than what is clearly laid open to the Soviet pilots entertained in this transaction, viz., the terrain, the immaturity of the Indian pilots to be later put in independent charge, the nature of the craft employed in the process, and the general inadequacy of the defence arrangements ? These are negative as well as positive secrets that will help the enemy and which these Soviet tutors can take away with them. Are we not now too well informed about the ways and means employed by the communists to believe for a moment that it would be safe and not be a most dangerous piece of folly to employ Soviet, or any other communist collaborators, in any procedure connected with strengthening the defence of the Sino-Indian border ? Does the Prime Minister believe that Soviet Russia is interested in defeating the purpose or confounding the knavish tricks (to use the British national anthem phraseology) of the Chinese Government ? Surely it would be dangerous childishness to pursue that line. Could we not draw upon our credit

and friendship in the Western world for this particular business of helping us to use planes in the defence of the Chinese border?

Much light is thrown on the position by Mr. Jaswant Singh's remark, referring to a statement by the Defence Minister said to have been made at Chandigarh that "the very fact that the Russians had given those planes showed where their sympathies were in the border dispute with China." One cannot be sure of the accuracy of the quotation. But it is not unlikely. At the moment, it takes one's breath away to see that the defence of India is being conducted on the basis of Russian sympathy being actively with us against China, and, on that basis, letting Soviet pilots reconnoitre the terrain and size up our personnel. To depend on Soviet-made planes for this purpose is itself dangerous. The debate ends up with a characteristic statement of the Prime Minister that "it is open to any member to draw any inference from the facts known on the subject, including this broad fact".

This is too dangerous credulity. Much inefficiency and ignorance can be tolerated in matters of civil administration, but this employment of Russian personnel to train our men in the piloting of Russian-made planes to defend our border against the persistent aggressions and trespasses of China is something that is dangerous beyond the tolerance limit.

Our Defence Department has to be strengthened in more than one way. Look at the Auditor-General's most recent report for the year 1960-61. Nearly Rs. 18 crores were left unspent. Estimates are prepared and grants taken from Parliament without a proper assessment of spending capacity, the gap reaching up to Rs. 18 crores in one year! A machine-tool factory went into production in 1953 and after seven years is still unable to show any return on the investment but, on the contrary, an aggregate loss of nearly a crore is recorded! Machinery worth Rs. 17 lakhs imported for constructing two vessels in 1957 are still lying in stock, as the contract for building the hulls had not been con-

cluded. "Lying in stock" for four years is obviously not good for valuable machinery and equipment! Another consignment of equipment costing four lakhs bought "between 1955 and 1959" was still lying in stock. A power-house erected at a cost of Rs. 15 lakhs in 1945 is found by the Auditor-General not operating since 1947. A defective dredger *cum* mine-sweeper bought from the United Kingdom for nearly half-crore rupees presents a tragic story. It had a 'major breakdown' in its maiden voyage. The craft had been accepted without inspection.

On a reference to the U.K. Admirality about the contractual responsibility, it was found that the guarantee period had terminated long before the maiden voyage. The engine was shipped back to the makers for repairs at a cost of about Rs. 30,000, although Naval Headquarters had decided that it was beyond any possible repair and a new engine would cost £10,000. When the makers opened the engine, they found a number of parts missing from the engine prior to shipment. The cost of repair rose to over Rs. 85,000! Truly a strange tale of inefficiency and bungling. Had Gandhiji been alive, he would have exclaimed that this was the unavoidable result of trying to live a life that did not belong to us, and of course the Prime Minister would have violently differed from him. The Defence Department requires a secretary fully responsible for all purchases, another fully responsible for all industrial concerns and over and above these two, a secretary for purely military affairs and personnel. It is only with this set-up that our present or any Defence Minister can function satisfactorily.

April 8, 1961 *Swarajya*

WANTED RE-SHUFFLING OF IDEAS

A strong plea against what is strikingly called "coagulated thinking" has been made by columnist "Parasara" in *The Indian Express*. The columnist stresses the need for constructive re-shuffling of ideas. He pleads for greater fluidity of thought and courageous disregard of what is mistakenly treated as unalterable. He says we must break through the walls raised by dogma. "Far too much is taken for granted in the name of the 'given situation'", he says. "Issues which ought to continue to be debated are, for purposes of practical policy, taken as closed, decided once and for all." He appeals for free-thinking, if only for the tonic effect of such free-thinking. If this is not done, he says, "the stalemate will be prolonged and stagnation made more certain". He cites land ceilings and direct taxation as among the most arresting examples of this rigid assumption of 'the given situation'. After giving land ceilings as a capital instance of doctrinaire inflexibility, he leaves it at that without dealing more with it. He takes up taxation and says : "Nowhere is such coagulated thinking more in evidence than in the sphere of taxation, direct and indirect, deficit financing, inflation and the treatment of the private sector". Encrusted notions, he complains, prevent rational rethinking in these matters. He points out that Prof. Kaldor wanted income-tax to be drastically reduced, because the profits of tax evasion in the highest stages are too high for anyone successfully to resist the temptation. If reduction of inequalities is an aim, he pleads, lower rates would be more effective than higher rates which only increase the scale of evasion. "Misplaced zeal for achievement of economic equality has perpetuated the chain of mishaps," Parasara says, and proceeds to point out that it is not good policy to tamper with incentives and retard savings and investment. "The disinflationary effect of high taxation is a myth which calls for speedy exploding."

In the case of indirect taxation the sway of catchwords is even clearer, he says. He points out that the easy but erroneous path of bringing an article into the excise net, and to go on adding to the rate year by year, is followed by the Government. "The produce of basic industries as well as articles of common consumption are attacked, with the sales tax bringing up the rear. Customs duties account for Rs. 29 crores of additional taxation and they are levied also on capital goods and machinery which will add to costs for a long time to come." Each single development, he points out, may by itself appear to be explainable but the total effect is disastrous and indefensible. What we call inflation today, he winds up, is not the result of mere errors in the policies regarding money and credit, nor even of governmental excesses in public expenditure, but is the resultant of the new trends in a number of spheres which are attributable to doctrinaire ideas.

April 8, 1961 *Swarajya*

FREE ECONOMY OR REGIMENTATION?

A very pro-Congress newspaper has two leading articles, one of last Sunday and another of last Tuesday, from which the following forthright remarks are given below :

> No country can mortgage its future to a single party however strong and disciplined. A party, too, can be an instrument of tyranny. And we must remember . Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Honesty compels the admission that the Congress Party already betrays signs of this taint. It is thus not surprising that the intelligent voter is faced with a dilemma as he approaches the third general elections .. ... Perhaps this dilemma can be resolved by the Congress asking leaders of other parties to associate with it in a national government just as it did on the morrow of Independence.

> The most astonishing aspect of Mr. Nehru's inaugural address at the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry is its utter lack of concern for the details of practical business in running the economy. At a time when the country is faced with a crisis of organization which has erupted into a crisis of transport and shortage of raw materials, the Prime Minister satisfies himself with uttering such emotive phrases as 'private wealth and public squalor'. The main issue today is not of sharing bread but of enlarging its size .... One cannot conjure away a crisis by a phrase.

It may be admitted that the Prime Minister is adored by the people whatever the causes of this affection may be. The party is desperately clinging to this personal affection. It has no other support by way of popular approval of its doings. A twentieth century edition of the tub-thumping of revolutionary Paris, some ancient generalities, and provocative references to the wealth of a few as against the poverty of the many, keep up the reputation of the ruling party for a concern for the poor. Its policies strike at the root of production and prosperity, on what both rich and poor must depend, viz., the size of the loaf which has to be divided, to use the figure adopted in the above quotations. Agricultural production has gone down. Imports of raw materials for industry, such as cotton and jute, have alarmingly increased. The export potentiality of the country is not visible through the most optimistic microscope. The nation is being harassed and ruined through thoughtless taxation direct and indirect, and a borrowing policy with no corresponding plan for repayment but simply hanging on by a slender thread to the current cold war.

There is no hope for the future, unless the nation makes up its mind to drive the present ruling party out of office and put it, such as it is, in Opposition. The country needs a wise and steady government which does not believe in exhibitionism but in real production and real concern for the poor. The Planning Commission should be supplemented and counterpoised by a federation of the various organizations, representing national,

industrial and agricultural production and distribution. Otherwise, there is no chance for wise policies to issue from the central secretariat.

The suggestion in the first of the above quotations that a national government may be formed by picking up a few individuals from the present Opposition parties and shaping them into inferior partners within the Congress Cabinet has not much meaning. The prerequisite for a good and useful coalition is a fairly well-balanced Opposition party from which leaders could be co-opted into the ruling party. Of what use would it be to co-opt socialists and communists with congressmen? As for a few prominent non-party individuals to be picked up for being co-opted, they would represent no organized parties nor anyone but themselves. They will share the fate of Dr. John Matthai and Mr. C. D. Deshmukh. They will serve only to shield the Government's errors and will not be able to moderate its rash policies. A coalition can be thought of and built on the relative strength of various parties, once this is disclosed in the elections. The notion that things could be improved by some trick of internal healing without disturbing the Congress has no political validity.

The real issue is whether the nation should lean towards free economy or towards regimentation, if we want to release national energy and attain that degree of prosperity on which the general welfare can confidently rest. The Congress has adopted the creed of regimentation and this bias dogmatically permeates all its policies, and blinds it to the requirements of the situation. The people should vote for releasing the national energy and this means dismissing the Congress. When once that is done and the nation's vote is clear, then a popular cabinet will come into being without any difficulty, coalition or other.

The coming general elections should not be allowed to become a show based on money and organizational technique. It should be a mass movement even as the nation voted in the

general elections that resulted in the formulation of Congress governments in all the provinces of India in 1937. Neither money nor organizational techniques, nor jeeps nor entertainments, played any part then in the solid vote that the nation gave to the Congress, but pure and simple popular feeling that India should be governed by her own leaders. Similarly, now the nation should make it plain that the stifling regimentation of the national economy should be terminated and national energy released towards prosperity as in West Germany.

April 8, 1961 *Swarajya*

SOCIALISM AND THE CONSTITUTION

WHEN the Constitution was drafted and passed in 1950, the 19th and 31st articles thereof inscribed therein, as a fundamental right to be enforced by the courts against the government of the day, whichever it may be, the right of all citizens, without any discrimination against any of them, to practise any profession, to carry on any occupation, trade or business, to acquire, hold and dispose of property. These are the words of the Constitution. When, in contravention of this, the methods of communist countries in respect of citizen's properties were sought to be adopted, the Congress Party was compelled by the adverse decisions of courts to amend the Constitution on several occasions. Amendment of the Constitution was easy enough, as there was a steam-roller majority for the Congress Party. The original Constitution-makers solemnly adopted the articles to prevent socialistic expropriation and to give no room to the government for practising a fraud on powers by giving inadequate compensation for compulsory acquisition. The subsequent amendments were passed only to facilitate such a fraud.

The original sub-clause in the article permitting the imposition of restrictions on fundamental rights, in the interests of the

general public, was in the course of the debate improved by the addition of the word 'reasonable' before the word 'restrictions', which was not in the first draft, but which was put in to give the courts the final voice regarding the legitimacy of such restrictions, and to prevent the nullification of the citizen's fundamental right by the exercise of the power to place restrictions in the interests of the general public. The Supreme Court was given the authority to examine and strike down any misuse of the powers.

Article 26 of the Constitution specifically laid down the right of every religious denomination, or any section thereof, to own and acquire movable and immovable property, and to administer such property in accordance with law. The State was not allowed to practise any kind of expropriation.

Article 31 laid down that no property, movable or immovable, or any interest in any company owning any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law, unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired.

It is obvious that the founders of the Constitution intended to provide not only against the 'socialistic pattern' but also against any misuse of powers to achieve such an object by indirect or devious means. This article of the original Constitution has been subsequently amended, so as to nullify the original intention.

There is a chapter in the Constitution dealing with policies and principles of government. The provisions of this article are not 'justiciable'. But the direction in this chapter is that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which social, economic and political justice shall inform all the institutions of the national life. The State, according to this chapter, should direct its policy towards securing that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are

so distributed as best to subserve the common good, and the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. There is not a word here to support the false doctrines of egalitarianism. The principles enunciated are those that govern the laws of America against combines and monopolies. What the Congress regime now does, under its system of permits and licences, is exactly the opposite of what is laid down in the Constitution—they serve to concentrate wealth and the means of acquiring additional wealth on the few persons chosen by it for doing business, or industrial production in several important lines, and these monopolies created by the State in favour of chosen persons work to the common detriment.

There is not a word in the Constitution recommending the socialistic pattern or socialism but everything was done in anticipation to prevent such mischief. The present Government has not only disregarded the intent and purpose of the founders of the Constitution but has laid violent hands on the Constitution itself.

April 15, 1961 *Swarajya*

MISUSE OF POWER

COFFEE in Madras city hotels and restaurants now costs 20 nP. a cup as against 17 nP. A single meal now costs 75 nP. as against 63 nP. a month ago. When the hotel-keepers are questioned they give the following prices of commodities which, and much else, they have to buy and pay for before being able to serve their customers.

Sugar costs now Rs. 120 a bag as against Rs. 95 in 1957. Firewood has risen from Rs. 63 per ton to Rs. 85; coffee seeds

from Rs. 219 per cwt. to Rs. 260; milk from Rs. 1.12 per measure to Rs. 1.75; rice from Rs. 44 per bag to Rs. 74; charcoal from Rs. 160 per ton to Rs. 240; gram from Rs. 40 per bag to Rs. 60; ghee from Rs. 71 per tin to Rs. 105.

The Hindu's Delhi correspondent has reported that the Congress Parliamentary Price Committee had a "lively discussion today (April 7) for over two hours", on the problem of increase of prices of necessities, and that the view that emerged from the discussion was that the "basic mistake lay in not visualizing at the time of the Second Plan such a rise in prices".

It appears that they came to the conclusion that steps should be taken to evolve methods by which prices may not be allowed to rise. It seems the Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai himself presided at this meeting.

The rise in prices, which it was agreed "had not been visualized at the commencement of the Second Plan" was estimated to be very near to 30 per cent during the Plan period. The great confabulators resolved to examine at the next meeting the question of 'improving the machinery of production and distribution' which was at the root of this unpleasant rise in prices. All those who were competent to criticize, and who did not belong to the yes-group of the party, were shouting 'inflation' but were treated as incorrigible cynics, if not traitors to the cause of revolutionary advance on which the ruling party had decided, and which necessarily 'involved a degree of inflation'. But now the party is going to "improve the machinery of production" to cope with the inflation and induce prices not to rise so immoderately.

What is this "machinery of production" which is going to be improved under the orders of the administration? It is obvious that this producing machinery is not situated in the secretariats at Delhi or in the offices of the State governments. It can tamper with the distribution which will make matters worse and reach a crisis. The "machinery of production" is in the

peasant's farm. And everyone knows what has at present happened there, the greatest uncertainty and the farmer's own running deficit financing. These are the features of life and operations at that end.

The machinery that causes the rise in prices is situate in the secretariats where taxes and levies are conceived, and orders issued to make up for the red gap in budgets. The State governments have been relieved of all their old-time anxieties and now live on doles from the Centre for everything. This is the irrefutable source of all the unpleasant phenomena in the markets, including the restaurants and eating houses. There is no use in 'lively' or other discussions. The only thing to do is to give up wrong policies, and if that is not possible and if the ruling party cannot give up its facadism and gigantism, the thing to do is to give place to those who do not believe in such exhibitionist advance, and who believe in progress and prosperity through freedom, and in an honest free economy wherein the State will take a back place and the energy of citizens released and allowed full play, instead of being choked and suppressed by an intolerable Statism.

The Congress has resolved, we are told, not to enter into any alliances and to fight the elections alone. Why should it seek alliances, when it can depend on triangular and multilinear contests among its opponents, and when it has unlimited funds, and the whole administrative machinery at its effective command for running the elections? It is a shame that where the party has adopted a policy of total economic grip, it pretends to run free general elections, refusing to make arrangements for a neutral regime during the election period. 'Voluntary' levies are merrily going on to fill the party chest from the coffers of the favoured monopolists at its beck and call. It has the numerous Sevak Samajs, social welfare bodies, development boards and other quasi-official bodies operating at public expense, organs of socalled decentralized government power to be briskly used as party organizations, and ministers and deputy ministers organiz-

ing election tours paid for by the State. There is an almost unlimited quantity of artificially produced money to confer election-eve boons on the major voting groups. This misuse of position and refusal to make the elections really free, may even warrant a total boycott of the elections by all who wish to protest against it.

Why indeed should the Congress Party seek any alliances? It hopes to win hands down, unless the electorate wakes up to end this paste-board totalitarian rule and this intolerable corruption, and convert the elections into a tempestuous moral revolution.

April 15, 1961 *Swarajya*

FREEDOM WITHIN PARTIES

We can take for granted that the rule of one nation over another has ended in this world and that every country is now concerned only with her own affairs, and how best to run her government. The chief and perhaps the only issue now in every country is how to secure good, honest, just and stable administration, a government that is concerned with the public interest and not with the interests, the prestige, influence or the longevity of any particular party.

How can this kind of administration be secured? We have no hereditary monarch or benevolent dictator, with army or household guards to support and keep him in power. We have democracy. How can democracy yield this good, just, diligent and impartial administration which the people want? Political parties are necessary to oppose one another and keep watching and criticizing, so that good government and the wise decisions necessary for it may issue. We must evolve a majority party

which will leave things to a neutral administrative machinery, and not seek to use the administration and its officials for its own advantage. Needless to say, we require, in the first place, an administrative machine which is devoted to its work, pledged to justice and fairplay and habituated to do it, and which has the courage to stand up to all party tricks and intimidations. We must, in the second place, have political parties which are keen to watch and criticize policies but which will not when in power interfere with the administration any more than one would tamper with the presciiptions of a doctor who deals with a patients's illness.

We want political parties founded on definite principles and slants of approach but which will not make a clique or a conspiracy of political association.

We do not want any party in charge of government for a time to disturb the oider of things simply for change's sake, but, on the other hand, will do so courageously when what is sought to be done away with has been proved to be an evil, and only then. We want discussion and opposition to be based on conviction and sincere feeling, and not merely tactical strategy based upon block votes under quasi-military discipline. The members of political parties should, therefore, be free in the real sense of the term and not pledged to act under what is called party discipline in every matter. It is only under these conditions that the usefulness of Opposition parties will be a reality.

The Swatantra Party has definitely guaranteed freedom to all its members in every respect, except the basic principles on which the party has been constituted. And these basic principles may be briefly described as the restoration of the fundamental rights of citizens guaranteed in the original Constitution adopted by India in 1950, which have been whittled down by the present ruling party, because it could not carry out its policy of expropriation and running after the will-o'-the-wisp of egalitarianism without such whittling down.

Freedom of occupation and the competitive principle by which men are induced to put forth their best energy, and the right of each citizen to hold and enjoy what he has lawfully earned—these are age-old conditions which have enabled man gradually to evolve civilization. This is the basic condition for men to have an incentive to work hard and think aright, and this basic condition for progress is, therefore, recognized as a fundamental right either written or unwritten.

After reaching a stage of progress, certain men are inclined by reason of ambition or ignorance to forget these age-old laws of progress and proceed to act in violation of these natural laws. An illusion seizes their minds that the basic condition is no longer necessary. We have to save civilization by reviving respect for the basic truths on which civilization rests. We must not destroy, or allow to be destroyed, the incentive for right thinking and wise and diligent action on the part of individuals who make up the nation, by undermining the security and freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution. The Swatantra Party wants, therefore, the personal interest in work to be maintained. It wants minimum government and maximum freedom left over for the individual's energy, enterprise and responsibility. To weaken the individual's sense of responsibility and to cultivate in him the habit of dependence on the State run by a majority party would be the cultivation of irresponsibility and laziness, and the encouragement of toadyism and parasitism. It leads inevitably to corruption and evil practices.

There are evils in party government; but party government is a necessary evil. We must seek means to reduce the evils, which is done by reducing the powers of the Government to the minimum. This is what the Swatantra Party aims at. This is what Gandhiji so often said.

Proportional representation would be ideally the best basis to rest democracy upon. But, unfortunately, in a large nation efficient government is not possible on that basis. The freedom

given by each party to its members to vote freely on matters outside the strict boundaries of its stated basic principles, will be the nearest approach to a government based on proportional representation and give adequate opportunity for minority views to command consideration and acceptance whenever found right. Legislation and administration in most matters will not depend on party whips and on decisions of the majority within the party, but on the free vote of all the members in Parliament and in State legislatures. Debates will be free and frank and help to reach just decisions and will not be mere partisan speeches leading to nothing but what was previously settled, the whole show being a mere ritual.

The Swatantra Party has given a great lead, in this respect, to all other parties. But it is feared that other parties will be slow to follow this example, because it means preferring the general good to the interests of one's own party. The general interest demands freedom of discussion. But the interests of one's own party demand rigid discipline. Those who flourish under the rigidity of party controls, and who do not know any other way of political life, think that the freedom given in the Swatantra Party to its members is ridiculous. They cannot even understand such a state of things. They fear that such freedom as the Swatantra Party gives to its members would lead to chaos and total break-up of any party. This is just what every parrot, which is used to cage-life, must feel as regards being let out to find its own food and drink.

An incidental consequence of the Swatantra Party's principle of freedom may also be here dealt with. The incapacity to understand this new conception of freedom in a party organization leads people to think that the Swatantra Party is governed by its founder-leader's personal views on the official language issue and on the Punjabi Suba claim. They fail to remember that the founder of the party declared, on the very day of the party's birth, and reiterated it on many occasions thereafter, that these are *free* issues on which the nation's judgment based on non-

party lines and impartial debate should prevail and that the Swatantra Party, as such, has not aligned itself on one side or the other over these issues. Such misunderstandings follow from the general difficulty of appreciating freedom on any issues within a political party. It is wrongly assumed that there is no room for such freedom in a party organization, and that it is only a make-believe. But in reality, as already explained, without such freedom party government must stand totally condemned. With such freedom, on the other hand, the political party system has a useful and necessary place in democracy.

It is, therefore, proper and fit that the Swatantra Party should publicly appeal to every person, to whatever party he may choose to belong for other reasons, to co-operate with the Swatantra Party if he is convinced that the whittling down of the freedoms guaranteed in the original Constitution is dangerous to progress, and would lead democracy gradually to the dictatorship of a party and must be resisted, and that all the fundamental rights solemnly guaranteed by the Constituent Assembly in 1950 must be restored in full, in order that progress and prosperity may be achieved without loss of freedom.

April 22, 1961 *Swarajya*

OUR FOREIGN LIABILITIES

Our adverse trade balances during the year 1960 have been disclosed as follows :

U.S.A. . exports Rs. 93 crores against imports Rs. 198 crores.

United Kingdom : exports Rs. 154 crores against imports 182 crores.

With Japan too, our deficit was Rs. 18 crores and even with Iran we ran a deficit of Rs. 26 crores.

These are figures for one year. What are the plans and prospects of discharging the gigantic loans we have taken, capital and interest? The process of discharging foreign obligations consists in developing a progressive favourable export balance totalling up to the sum of our liabilities on a future date. The figures of 1960 do not throw any light on this problem; indeed they throw a big dark shadow on it. Yet the parrot cry is that a developing economy involves borrowing. This may be admitted, but borrowing involves repaying. Our borrowing must have a clear obverse picture of repayment, if we mean business. Our buying and borrowing programmes are one and the same. We buy when and where we borrow, and we borrow when and where we buy. The pleasant festival of borrowing and buying must be offset and justified by a repayment scheme. Otherwise, we plunge the nation and mortgage its future in an unwise and suicidal policy.

We no doubt live in a 'modern' world. But the progress of other people in the field of technology is not relevant to, nor will help, our debt position. The triumphs of Soviet Russia in space travel should not, therefore, affect either our humanity or our prudence.

There is thinly veiled despondency in America and platitudinous enthusiasm in New Delhi over Yuri Gagarin's flight in the stratosphere, 180 miles above the earth. He has moved at 18,000 miles per hour and he was at it for an hour and three quarters. We ought to remember that we are all moving at 72,000 miles per hour round the sun and we are doing it non-stop. Gagarin's achievement has nothing to do with socialism or any other 'ism. Instead, it is the result of the sense of competition which is not a primary in socialism but rather treated as a deviation. Distances are overcome and gravity is resisted, but fear and illwill remain unconquered. *Vanitas vanitatum* And the pitifullest vanity of it all is the snobbish vanity of reflected satisfaction and pride at other people's wonderful achievements.

April 22, 1961 *Swarajya*

NON-INTERVENTION IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

JUDGING from the scanty reports received we may conclude that the hopes of the American Government have been foiled and that the rebellion against the Castro-dictatorship tied up to Soviet Russia has for the time being failed. The Kennedy administration has admitted enough for us all to draw this inference and to feel assured that, for the present, there is no intention on the part of angry U.S.A. to take things further forward. This has added a new feather to the Soviet cap.

British feeling appears to be working on an irrational plane, mixing up the Cuban affair with Eden's bid against Nasser, which failed principally on account of the U.S.-led opposition to British intervention. There is no rhyme or reason in this feeling of polite tit-for-tat. British intervention in the Suez affair was not to help any freedom drive or anti-totalitarian movement in Egypt. It was either self-interest or pro-Israel feeling and had no base on any broad principle of democracy. In Cuba, the issue is between the dictatorship of Soviet-aided Castro and of a democratic rebel group operating against the *de facto* regime in possession. American self-interest in the displacement of communism in a neighbouring State and American sympathy with the Cuban freedom group cannot in any way be compared to the British invasion of Suez.

The important doctrine of non-intervention in internal affairs calls for re-examination. All efforts to maintain world peace and to evolve world government accept this doctrine of non-intervention in what are called domestic affairs. Otherwise, no progress can be made in getting the co-operation of the various nations who have to surrender a part of their sovereignty in order to establish a world law and a world authority. This is a justifiable ground of expediency. But while this is expediency,

what is the case of humanity in this connection? Undoubtedly, there is such a thing as tyranny against minorities, the dictatorship of particular parties who seize power and maintain it by brute force, the tyranny of racial autocracy against weaker, though more numerous populations as in South Africa, and such other conditions in many parts of the world crying for justice, and external sympathy and assistance. The doctrine of non-intervention in internal affairs would in such cases be cruel irony and be a permanent hurdle in the way of an enlightened social world order. If placed on the level of a world charter it will be a permanent bar against improvement.

Civilization and moral progress depend on dissent and struggle, courage and sacrifice. If all Big Powers play for safety from their own respective points of view—which, alas, is the present condition of affairs—there is no hope for humanity's progress or for the abolition of tyranny still prevailing in various forms. All of them would fall in the category of 'internal' affairs and be excluded from the enterprises of heroism on which humanity's march depends.

In the days that are gone, when there were no rockets or nuclear weapons, there was room for personal heroism and adventure for noble ends. There was a constant flow of external assistance for good causes and the world was one for this purpose. But now we have a setback. The self-interest and security of each Big Power looms so immensely large now, that all smaller nations and smaller suffering groups are left to themselves and can command no material assistance, however just and good their cause may be. Nuclear power has orphaned the small nations and oppressed groups.

Mr. Kennedy hopes for a deathless struggle by freedom-lovers in Cuba, and says that the suppression of the present Cuban revolt does not terminate the battle for freedom. But how thin is the hope for people to wrestle with monsters who have taken possession of all the resources of the State and are in

a position to crush all attempts at emancipation, be the monster a single individual who has command of the organized military forces, or a single fanatically bound political party which has enslaved the majority and taken possession of all the organs of government ! The only hope lay in the common bond of humanity and in external assistance issuing out of noble thoughts, but the doctrine of world government and non-intervention in internal affairs and the fear of mass destruction associated with nuclear weapons have brought all chances of chivalry and noble enterprise to an end.

We should not, therefore, all chime in, condemning America or damning her with faint praise. She is in a great dilemma and her noble sentiments are put to severe trial. Our Prime Minister has, as was to be expected, given way to the doctrine of non-intervention and has thereby given moral support to Soviet Russia. He is in line with the Communist Party of India. Communist assistance to Castro is taken for granted as something natural, America's part alone gets the name of intervention in other people's internal affairs. Internal oppression by a single party, which has seized possession of the State, is sacrosanct against intervention. Tyranny takes various shapes and when it puts on the cloak of legal government and of nationalism, it becomes the worst form of tyranny enrolled in the cause of international communism. How one wishes our Prime Minister were a less easy target of communist strategy !

April 29, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE CEYLON STRUGGLE

The Ceylon Tamils (who are old Ceylonese and are as attached to their mother island as any other citizens of Ceylon) are asking for a federal form of government in which the Tamil-

speaking population of North and East Ceylon may have autonomy subject to the Federal Government of all-Ceylon. This will enable them to take pride in Ceylon nationality, without any bar sinister of inferiority.

The language issue is merely an outer symbol of the competition between the two nationalities. It is a battle between communities, not at all a battle of cultures or of languages. Neither culture nor language is in danger. Either can stand on its own strength and is not capable of being extinguished, or even hurt in a substantial degree. The question is whether the Tamil-speaking people are to be treated as equals or not. Equality will be ensured under a federal regime. The unitary Government is necessarily leading up to place them on an inferior level. This is the more unjust, because the progress so far achieved and the present status of Ceylon as a whole, depended not a little on the patriotic services of the eminent Tamilians of Ceylon. The refusal to grant equal status on a federal basis to the Tamil population amounts to ingratitude.

Let not the Tamil Northern and Eastern Ceylon population be confounded by superficial readers of news in India with the people of South Indian origin who have migrated to Ceylon when the plantations needed hard labour, and who have settled down in and around the plantations as permanent but yet unrecognized citizens of Ceylon. They are an entirely different group. Their quarrel is a different one.

Any sympathy from South India extended to the original Tamil-speaking people of Ceylon, who are fighting a tremendous battle for autonomy within a federal regime, can be easily mistaken for a Tamil conspiracy to bring Ceylon sovereignty and its integrity into jeopardy. That is the reason why South Indian leaders have been patient and have not given too swift expression to their feelings of sympathy with those who fight a just battle in Ceylon on the language and federalist issues. The present Ceylon Government party has been, for sometime past,

pretending to see a great conspiracy between South Indian Tamils and Ceylon Tamils which of course is mere myth born of an inferiority complex.

The question of direct action and the advisability of continuing it is quite a different matter, and should be judged entirely by the leaders of the movement. One who is at a distance and who is a votary of peace may be inclined to advise compromise, if it could be had on honourable terms. It is hard to believe that reason will not ultimately prevail. We all hope in India, who have seen the lady Premier of Ceylon, that she will bring her best emotions into play and succeed in controlling the extreme elements on the Sinhalese or Buddhist side (whatever name we may give it) and bring the protest movement to a suspension on honourable terms.

April 29, 1961 *Swarajya*

SAMPATH'S SECESSION

THE Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam has split. The split is put on many and rather vague grounds. Objectively speaking, it is an unfortunate timing, whatever the merits or justification may be. The Congress Party is the beneficiary of the split, and those who are interested in bringing a sense of humility to replace the present arrogance of the ruling party must be sorry for the developments in the D.M.K. at this juncture, when there are only some months for the general election to take place.

The objection of too much prominence being given in the D.M.K. to cinema producers is not new. Mr. E. V. K. Sampath's uncle, the famous E. V. R. Periar, has been making this his principal charge against the D.M.K. for a long time past. The nephew's present charge reads almost hereditary.

His chief and real point is the giving up of the claim for separation from India. He has brought it down to a claim for real State autonomy in a federal structure. The formula of the right of secession, a copy of the Westminster Statute formula, has no meaning in the context of South India. There is no room for secession to be even dreamt about, as indeed admitted by implication by Mr. Sampath. The States in the Indian Union are not viable as separate units, particularly if they secede on a quarrel and not by cordial agreement. Whatever may be the quarrel or the misbehaviour, no State can exist as an independent unit, unless it allies itself closely with some foreign Power, which is unthinkable.

The D.M.K. as well as the D.K. are children of communal hatred. It is not easy to shake off quickly the vapours of one's origin. But, if the leaders make a sincere effort, this is not impossible. If this is done, it will be seen that the present issue is whether the all-India ruling party is to be opposed or not. Half-hearted opposition or alliances with Communist Party can bring no good or useful results. The latter would be suicidal, however attractive. The Congress and the Communist Party have no real differences and, for all practical purposes, form one party. It is the present duty of all other parties which are opposed to totalitarianism to join up against them and not be deceived by the interested ridicule or arguments of the Congress bosses. The Congress Party hopes to seize power for another five years, solely on the strength of money, office, and deceptive propaganda. Its only fear is a combined anti-totalitarian opposition. To meet this fear they put forth such arguments as 'negative policy' and the like, or seek to emphasize the inappropriateness of alliances between parties having differing ideologies. The one and most important issue is democracy or totalitarianism. Another term of office to a party that has held office for 15 years already would lead to totalitarianism, unrestrained and arrogant beyond tolerance, and subversion of all fundamental rights. Mr. Sampath must beware of the sirens.

April 29, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE RUSSIAN ROCKET

> And though he has not an atom of principle, it must be confessed that he invented the Taglioni shirt.
>
> —Thackeray in *Christmas Books*

"WHAT was going on around the world today was perturbing. The whole world went mad when a man put into a bullet and sent into space returned to the earth safely. I did not rejoice at this achievement of man; on the other hand, I became cold, absolutely cold at this. It made very little difference whether a dog or a monkey or a man was put into space. This is not the real spirit of science. It is militarism run mad." So said Dr. C. V. Raman about the recent achievement towards what is called the conquest of space. One-hundred-and-eighty miles is no significant part of cosmic space, though it is very big in itself. On the background of the distances of stars, this is less than the ratio of an atom to a ton of solid matter. Dr. Raman's appraisement is really the right one and he is our biggest man of science. Eve must have thought her achievement was great, when she rebelled and reached up to the fruit of a certain tree, but Adam had felt as Dr. Raman now feels. There are, incidentally, quite a few people who do not accept all that has been stated by Yuri Gagarin about his two-hour stay inside the rocket as beyond suspicion. There are reasons for this attitude of doubt.

But be this as it may, rocket feats do not have any connection with the economic policy of the Soviet State, although there is an attempt to mesmerize prestige out of it for economic and political policies. They have more to do with the competition set in motion by national ill-feeling and fear. When will man exercise his mind to reach up to these evil planets coursing round the earth and making it miserable? What rocket will conquer them?

Dr. C. V. Raman has not allowed his sense of true scientific values to be affected by the glamour of mere technological advance nor has he, like others, lost his hold on human values on account of the hypnosis of scientific advance.

April 29, 1961 *Swarajya*

EFFECT OF NUCLEAR POWER

I do not write this to make more difficulties when President Kennedy is beset with terrible anxieties. I speak as a human being living outside the circle of the Great Powers, as one who is interested in human progress, freedom and civilization in the non-materialistic and true sense of these terms.

The entry of nuclear power in warfare has made a great and deplorable change in human fellowship. In the days that are gone, the weak could look forward to sympathy and material assistance from powerful nations and rulers. Victims of injustice and tyranny could find material support from abroad in their unequal struggle against oppressors entrenched in power.

History is full of shining crusades of compassion. The world was one and indivisible, and nations and men were prepared for fighting anywhere in a noble cause, to give assistance to victims of iniquity. But now things are changed.

Weapons of mass destruction have altered the perspective for all powerful nations. They are not prepared to invite clashes over the rights and wrongs of other people, whatever be their nature. They are not prepared to go out to relieve or help victims against oppressors, if such action carries with it the possibility of a clash with another Power which can start a nuclear war.

The biggest Powers now are more anxious to preserve peace and look after their own security than to yield to the call to do

noble deeds. The weaker nations have been completely orphaned by the atom. Tyrants and usurpers are now free to deal with their victims without any fear of external indignations. The usurper or dictator has converted the majority of the people into debased slaves and no dissenter has any chance.

The world order envisaged by lovers of peace has a definite and permanent saving clause against any intervention in the internal affairs of a *de facto* regime which has established itself anywhere by brute strength or fraud or otherwise. The world executive, to be brought into existence under proposals for world government—and *a fortiori* the present United Nations Organization—cannot intervene in what has been comprehensively and cruelly called the "domestic" affairs of any State.

I corresponded with Dr. Grenville Clark and Prof. Louis B. Sohn when their great book was released and brought this aspect forward for their comment. They promptly wrote back to me justly and, if I may say so, helplessly pleading that if this saving clause were not to be put into the charter, there was no likelihood ever of their world authority emerging by agreement.

Here, then, we are, British statesmen and the British press, Mr. Nehru in India, and every intellectual everywhere, taking for granted that Cuban affairs must be left to Fidel Castro and it is not for America to intervene. The enemies of individual freedom are completely free to do what they like and the rights of national sovereignty accrue to every tyrant whatever the origin of his *de facto* authority may be.

Truly, again, one may cry the days of chivalry are gone. There is no room for international chivalry, now that the monstrous fear of nuclear weapons has been enthroned as the guiding principle of all international politics. Most private cruelty is done within family walls and most public wrongs within State frontiers. And if these frontiers and walls are sacrosanct, then oppression gets a free charter in the nuclear age.

April 30, 1961 *The New York Times*

THE ETIOLOGY OF CONTROLS

CONTROLS over the economy of India came into being for coping with emergencies during the war. After the war was over, instead of terminating these controls, the officials of the Government kept them up for reasons which are obvious to those who know the appetite of officials for exercising power. One having tasted the pleasure of non-justiciable authority over moneyed people, the members of the public services maintained the regime of regulation, and found many plausible reasons for it and indoctrinated those who guided policy. When the Congress Party took over the government of the country, the officials convinced the interim ministers, who were new to the business of government, that without controls there would be a shortage of the respective commodities and terrible public distress in consequence. The new Government accepted the advice of the senior officials, and regimentation and controls continued under the National Government though there was no war, or other emergency, and industry and commerce could have been left to the laws of free economy.

Thereafter came the notion of producing progress in a spectacular degree. The ambition of the Congress Government to demonstrate its own and the nation's potentiality, after emancipation from foreign rule, led to a conspiracy of action, so to say, between the Congress Ministry and the official hierarchy to maintain and stiffen the regime of controls and regulations. The appetite for power motivated the officials, and ambition to produce spectacular progress in India, and earn the admiration of the world, led the policy-makers in the Congress to accept official advice for controls of all kinds to be placed on the economy of the country. In addition, the officials succeeded in creating an atmosphere of fear of scarcity of all kinds and the politician-ministers succumbed to it. Then came Mr. Nehru's socialistic pattern as the goal of the Congress. This enhanced the need and the importance of all sorts of controls. The officials welcomed

the adoption of a creed, in which controls of all kinds and concentration of authority in Central officials' hands were inherent. The logical conclusion of the socialism of the Congress and the official appetite for power over individual citizens and their activities coincided. Hence the enthusiastic and loyal acceptance of the Congress policy of socialism by officials who in their heart of hearts knew that it was neither practicable nor was the true way to increased production. Often does intelligence thus yield to appetite and work itself up to advocacy of what it knows to be erroneous. A third element soon came into operation. Partymen found good business in the system of controls ! This appetite was even keener than that of the officials. Many of them found the monopolies created by permits and controls to be an easy way of becoming rich and their position in the party opened up a new life for them. The party's support for a system that gave them such grand opportunities to display their importance, and materially to profit, was a very powerful third element in the maintenance of controls, and socialism gave them a specious electioneering point in addition. The vanity of achieving spectacular things, the power appetite of officials, and the greed and corruption of partymen, these three elements sustain this unwanted and retrograde permit-and-licence regime in India, while in war-devastated lands, in other parts of the world, their diligent people rebuilt prosperity on the basis of free economy. And from them we are not ashamed to borrow vast sums for fulfilling our planless Plans. It is hoped that the permit-and-licence regime and the rule of a party which is wedded to that pernicious source of corruption and hurdle to progress will be overthrown at the ensuing general elections, in spite of the huge funds placed by those who benefit by that system at the disposal of the ruling Statist party.

May 6, 1961 *Swarajya*

BANNING COMMUNAL PARTIES

CONGRESS partymen are unable to give up their desire to ban certain organizations. They seek to protect and nurse secular unity by forging penalties for what they call communalism.

The Congress Party's faith in compulsion is growing as its faults and failures are accumulating. The faithful repudiate the doctrine out of which they secured power. *Ahimsa* until power is got and *himsa* when once you are in power ! Legislative compulsion imposed on those who do not agree with one's views is not less *himsa* simply because there is no shedding of blood or breaking of bones.

Communalism is rightly deprecated when it is a form of narrowmindedness leading to injustice, cruelty and nepotism. It falls within the group of 'isms—casteism, linguism and communalism—to condemn which is a favourite slogan of our ruling party. All these 'isms are various forms of narrowminded attachment leading to injustice, nepotism and cruelties, when temporarily or for a long period such narrowmindedness finds itself in a position of authority. To casteism, linguism, and communalism, we might add party-ism too, when it leads like the rest of them to discriminatory treatment, injustice and unfairness on the part of any ruling party.

The evils of the mind cannot be overcome by force or legislative compulsion. Where the law gives scope for narrowmindedness, we might make new laws, or change the old ones, to remove such opportunities. But it is futile to believe that by imposing sanctions or penalties we may be able to change men's minds. Of course, if change of heart is not wanted, but only external behaviour in conformity with the decrees of the majority, compulsion would be enough.

53

It is possible under cover of putting down this or that 'ism to gain electoral advantages by making laws which will throw the weight in favour of the ruling party. And this is a great temptation to the party in office during the period of the general elections. Personal and party advantages mislead even honest minds. It requires reflection and restraint to abstain from doing things which it would be advantageous to oneself to do, and what is also in one's power to do. It is easy enough to create difficulties in the way of minority groups, suffering under real or supposed grievances, taking measures for protecting their lawful interests. But the Constitution did not contemplate this.

It is easy, too, for the ruling party to get fundamental guarantees in the Constitution amended or annulled, so as to suit its plans of coercion. But it would be a gross violation of human rights to handicap any group, however small or whatever its composition, seeking to protect its own interests, by imposing electoral or other disabilities on them. What reasonably can be done is to punish the propagation of hatred and ill-feeling based on caste or class. This is provided for in the Penal Code of the land, and a severe enough punishment is provided for therein. Any other law or regulation will lead to party oppression and not to the removal of narrowmindedness. On the contrary, it will lead to an augmentation of the very feelings sought to be removed.

The cruellest and most ironical feature of the Congress Party's policy in this respect is the open alliance between E. V. R. Periyar and Mr. Kamaraj in the Madras State. The former is the latter's most vociferous propagandist and Periyar's propaganda is unabashed, violent communalism. This curious anomaly has acquired a kind of logicality by long prescription.

Narrowmindedness in any shape or form is bad and should be really coped with. But the idea of coping with it by compulsion is as ridiculous as fighting the wind with a gun. Good example and education are the only weapons against narrow-

mindedness, be it communalism, casteism, or party-ism. But this is exactly what is not done. Any attempt at forging coercive weapons to put it down will mean violently depriving citizens of freedom of association for the protection of their lawful interests.

To the totalitarian Congress mind everyone outside that party appears communal. It turns its blind eye to the strategy and the technique of its captains throughout the country, who exploit communalism and casteism to the full. "The Congress is for unity; the Congress is for the nation; the Congress is the nation itself; everybody else is communal; everyone outside the Congress stands for communalism or linguism or provincialism and for disunity; the Congress alone has the divine right to rule; national unity consists in subservience to the Congress Party." This is the Congress creed, the Indian brand of totalitarian tyranny.

May 13, 1961 *Swarajya*

MORARJI'S JIBES

AUTOCRATISM reaches a degree of arrogance and self-delusion when the very idea of freedom becomes a subject for jibes from the mouths of those who wield temporary authority. Mr. Minoo Masani did well in severely lashing the Finance Minister during the recent budget debate over the latter's sneers at *swatantra.* To the donkey, music is a joke and the fuss over *raaga* and *taala* a ridiculous waste of time and energy. In an assembly of his fellow-beasts, King Donkey may well jibe at the human folly of harmony and music. The Swatantra Party's assurance of freedom to members in respect of all matters outside its basic principles is real democratic freedom and a guarantee for the rule of the real majority, whereas the system of whips and regulated voting in all matters, including even amendments in private

members' bills, as enforced by the Congress Party, is pure despotism and amounts to the dictatorship of a majority group within a majority party, and ultimately to minority rule instead of democracy—the very antithesis of proportional representation in national affairs. Small minds cannot grasp large ideas and the Little laughs at the Big.

It is not the Swatantra Party at which Mr. Morarji's jibes are directed. He may, in a way, be entitled to do it. It is at *swatantra* itself he laughs. It is funny, in his view, that any party should allow its members to be loyal to their own conscience in matters not falling within the boundaries of the party fundamentals, whereas, truly, it is only this freedom that can save party government from becoming a stupid tyranny. Mr. Morarji Desai does not laugh at Vinoba Bhave and Jaya Prakash Narayan who persistently advocate a non-party system in working representative government. Orderly and genuine democracy in any form of representative government can be saved under the party system only if there be large freedom of voting even to party members. The Swatantra Party's 21st principle (of freedom to party members in all except fundamentals) is the nearest approach to maximum non-party government under a parliamentary system in which 400 million souls must find genuine, stable representation. Instead of appreciating, or at least respecting the thought behind this and trying to understand its implications, Mr. Morarji Desai, indoctrinated by thirteen years of sheep-rule, laughs at freedom itself, because he is unable to understand it.

May 13, 1961 *Swarajya*

AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHS

WE are told that some Americans at Palam airport in Delhi took photographs of the Soviet planes bought by the Congress Government for defending the China borders and that these photographs

have been seized and confiscated in the interests of our border defence ! The Defence Minister is contemplating further action against these American enemies of India's security ! The Soviet Government of Russia, we are to believe, is friend and co-guardian of Indian territory against Chinese aggression. The Soviet pilots are not spies, but the American photographers, who see something ridiculous in this policy, are the spies. Absurdity can go no further !

The Chinese forces have withdrawn from our two checkposts in the Himalayan border. This is not due to the force of our logic which the Government believes will slowly but steadily win victories for us against the agressive Chinese, with not a shot fired by our army. The report attributes the withdrawal to heavy snow. But our Deputy Defence Minister asserts that "we are keeping a very close and vigilant eye on the border."

May 13, 1961 *Swarajya*

A WARNING

Any voter who may have a fancy to vote for the Swatantra Party had best be warned in time that Mr. O. V. Alagesan and Mr. C. Subramaniam do not approve of the party, and have but a bad opinion both of the founder of the party and of the party itself. Nothing can be fairer than this warning—if you happen to like a political party that stands for the abolition of permits and controls distributed by the Congress bosses and think, therefore, of voting for the Swatantra Party, remember Mr. Alagesan and Mr. Subramanian are against the party and its founder. You are warned !

They are prepared to swallow the Russian planes, the Russian pilots and the Himalayas themselves, but they cannot digest Swatantra. Where will they be if Swatantra wins ?

Rajaji is an old man past eighty, say they; he is queer, he does not fall in line with authority, he is in love with some old fashions, he is not up-to-date like us—say these young wisemen. They would put the bar of wisdom somewhere round seventy, I suppose. If after this warning, you will vote for Swatantra, God bless you ! Cast your vote according to conscience.

Between ourselves, honest voter, these private monopolies created by the pernicious system of permits, licences, quotas and controls (to be extended now even to foreign capital which voluntarily comes into the private sector) make the Congress Party's rich friends richer, and the poor poorer. It is a close conspiracy; we have a battle between money and liberty, between *dharma* and atheism, between freedom and communism clothed in Congress robes.

May 13, 1961 *Swarajya*

FIRST FRUITS

For a considerable time past the Swatantra Party has been pointing out the folly of placing the whole or the greater part of the weight of foreign obligations on the State, instead of reducing that burden by the encouragement of foreign capital coming into private investments in India, in every possible and desirable form. It has been laying stress on the great advantages of the private investment of foreign capital in India as against the borrowing policy followed by the Government. In the third week of January this year I wrote :

> It is very nice to talk of Rs. 12,000 crores, of which the bureaucracy will manage Rs. 8,000 crores (never mind the waste) and leave the rest to competing favourites in the 'private' sector to whom permits and licences will be issued. But how will the nation pay back the Rs. 12,000 crores plus interest ?

Our Nasik money (whatever the latest designs) cannot be depended on for this. We must know what gold we can dig out or what modern articles we can prepare and hawk to the prospective sophisticated consumers of those goods in Western countries. Let us be told about this and then we can say the Plan is a plan, not till then.

I repeat what I have said before, it would have been relatively wiser to ask the capitalists of America and Britain to invest in India in partnership with venturesome Indians (and there were many who were and there are many still who are eager for it) and let this amount of Rs. 12,000 crores come into India that way, and not *via* the national Government, in which case the risk and the responsibility and the task of management would be theirs and would be exceedingly well done and borne without burdening the people with fresh direct or indirect taxes or with the prospect of bankruptcy. Progress and prosperity would have easily come that way, although it may not have fed the megalomania of the ruling clique.

To my question, what is your plan of repayment, there is no answer but the *non sequitur* statement that all successful people borrow in the world of business It is true they all borrow, but they borrow with a plan for repayment, except those who do not intend to repay, who are not successful people and who should be in prison and not in business !

Again, I wrote in the first week of February as follows :

No good businessman borrows without some definite plan and expectation of production to meet the calls for repayment, based on reasonable calculation American and British capital could be encouraged to flow into private partnership in India Industry could thrive with frugal management and the help of foreign capital and know-how It would be a responsibility of those who are in charge and would help the nation's progress. But Government borrowing for public management falls into a different category.

There is now a welcome realization on the part of the Congress Government of the better way of exploiting foreign aid. It is refreshing to read what *The Hindu* columnist Leo writes in a recent issue of that paper :

> With the growing difficulty in securing foreign exchange resources and the need to evolve some practical basis by which the strain of servicing foreign obligations would be considerably reduced, it has been for some time past emphasized that the entry of private capital should be encouraged to a greater extent than hitherto. The clarification by the Central Government of its attitude towards participation by foreign interests in the development of our industries is therefore to be welcomed. It is good to know that there will be flexibility in the procedures governing the grant of industrial licences where foreign participation is involved.

If a special department of the Commerce and Industry Ministry will be opened to deal with this work, it is hoped that, as a result the irritations and vexations caused by the numerous licensing and other formalities, which delayed and hampered good private projects, will be reduced and not increased. These irritations are not always the consequence of want of manpower. They are on the contrary a chronic disease attendant on official authority; and the more the staff, the greater the sweet exercise of this power to keep men waiting.

The Government has given indications now that there will be more encouragement of the flow of foreign capital into private industry and much more flexibility of policy, and much less annoyance and delay. All this is good, but it is necessary also to realize that this welcome change has come about as a result of the pressure of an Opposition party that stood for reason as against an unplanned Plan of State-borrowing from abroad in which the ruling party had bogged itself. The disaster of this policy was obvious but even the obvious was refused to be seen by the ruling clique. Nor was it realized by the people who supported the regime of the Congress, so great was the *maaya* of modernism boosted by the Prime Minister. It seems as if it is now slowly realized that it is not wisdom for a nation to get into heavy foreign debt, without a definite and feasible plan for repaying it, and that it would be much better to induce foreign capital to deal with private industrialists between whom and the foreign investor the responsibility of good and profitable management would be shared.

It will no doubt be stoutly claimed that this policy is an evolution of the ruling party's own unaided wisdom, and that it owes nothing to the views of the Swatantra Party or any other external advice. It does not matter what may be claimed by the ruling party, but it does matter that those intimately concerned with the development of industry in India have now a demonstration of the effect of an opposition party and its pressure on the intelligence of the Government and its official advisers. The nation benefits by an opposition party much more than is generally realized in this country. Opposition begins to give results, even before it takes shape in the form of elected members sitting in Parliament. The movement itself has achieved a change of policy in many things and in this important matter of switching from State-borrowing to foreign capital investment in the private sector. It remains, however, to warn those concerned that it is not wise for them to be content with such immediate results, and yield to the temptation to let things remain at that and save themselves from doing anything more in the direction of building up the Opposition into a massive parliamentary reality. Let them not become complaisant, so that one may be compelled to cry in the words of Milton :

What wise and valiant man would seek to free
These, thus degenerate, by themselves enslaved?
Or could, of inward slaves make outward free?

It is hoped that the good returns already obtained from a vocal opposition will not produce complacency but will act as an incentive for further effort which may be crowned with the successful establishment of a stable balancing force in the dynamics of the governance of our national affairs.

It would be miserable pusillanimity to be content licking up immediate advantage and do nothing more, satisfied with the gracious condescensions of the ruling party. The moral of immediate successes should not be complacency but greater sustained effort. Such immediate results cannot go on for long and will

stop, if a real strong Opposition party is not formed. There should be no relaxation in the work of setting up a party to serve as a standing threat to the ruling clique and a competitor for the seat of power. Otherwise, the power of the ruling party in a 'welfare' State or in a permit-licence-regime becomes absolute, and we all know from Lord Acton what abolute power leads to. His warning has been often referred to, but frequent quotation has not reduced the truth of that warning. With the present trend to expand the field of governmental power, the danger pointed out by Lord Acton has become much more serious than during his time, as we have already experienced in India.

Parliamentary government in the present day is under attack. It is attacked from outside by the propaganda of the communist States; it is under an insidious and more dangerous attack from inside, which issues out of the political greed of the party in power. When the party in office seeks, by exploiting its temporary advantage and by improper and devious means, to hold on to power, it brings the parliamentary system into contempt. The best safeguard for democracy and the parliamentary system of government is a strong Opposition. It is not disloyalty but true loyalty as distinguished from parasitism and interested flattery to help the formation of an Opposition when it is virtually absent, and the ruling party is steadily assuming the role of dictatorship.

May 20, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE CRAZE FOR POWER

Every consideration points to the desirability, nay, the moral necessity of reducing the powers that Government has taken in our country. The rich concentration of power is the cause of the admittedly unhealthy competitions of groups and leaders for

positions of influence, and consequent rifts within the ruling party, which have not yielded to the repeated appeals of the leader of the party. The cause of the malady not being removed, the appeals are futile and of no effect. The willingness to spend practically unlimited sums of money, in violation of the spirit of the election laws, is also due to the same corrupting cause. The excessive power that the party in office has seized in all the affairs of men, and in the economic life of the people, excites the thirst of greedy and ambitious people.

"A seat in this House, for good purposes, for bad purposes, for no purposes at all (except the mere consideration derived from being concerned in the public counsels) will ever be a first-rate object of ambition in England. Ambition is no exact calculator. Even avarice does not calculate strictly when it games. One thing is certain, that in this political game, the great lottery of power is that into which men will purchase with millions of chances against them. Nothing will ever make a seat in this House not an object of desire to members by any means or at any charge, but the depriving it of all power and all dignity. This would do it. This is the true and only nostrum for that purpose." It was Burke who said this, and proceeded immediately to confess that such a remedy was not possible. With a permit-and-licence-raj intruding in every walk of economic activity, the attraction and the evil are much greater in our country in 1961 than in Burke's time in England. The total remedy is not possible but the doctrine for which Gandhiji stood, reduction of the Government's power to the minimum, and the release of the free economy of the people to the largest extent, is not only possible but is a crying necessity for national progress and for the cleansing of the political stables. This is the principle of the Swatantra Party, a principle hallowed by the repeated avowal of faith on the part of the Father of the Nation.

May 20, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE idea of regulation is always associated with certain chosen and favoured individuals. Regulation cannot stand alone and by itself. It always boils down to favours and monopolies given to particular persons. A regime of permits and licences and quotas, and prices decreed from the secretariat, is neither a free nor a mixed economy. It is privilege and prerogative. "Partial freedom is privilege and prerogative and not liberty," said Burke. "In a regime of monopoly there can be no patriotism. There may be a party spirit but public spirit there can be none."

It would be useful to quote further from the same great philosopher who was a source of inspiration to Mill, Gladstone and Morley. "Whether the middleman acts as factor, jobber, salesman, or speculator, in the markets of grain, these traders are to be left to their free course; and the more they make, and the richer they are, and the more largely they deal, the better both for the farmer and consumer, between whom they form a natural and most useful link of connection,—though by the machinations of the old evil counsellor, *envy*, they are hated and maligned by both parties. The middlemen are often accused of monopoly. Without question, the monopoly of authority is, in every instance and in every degree, an evil, but the monopoly of capital is the contrary. It is of great benefit, particularly to the poor. A tradesman who has but a hundred pound capital which, he can turn, say, once a year, cannot live upon a profit of ten per cent. But a man of ten thousand pounds capital can live and thrive upon five per cent profit in the year. These principles are plain and simple; and it is not our ignorance, so much as the levity, the envy, and the malignity of our nature, that hinders us from perceiving and yielding to them; but we are not to suffer our vices to usurp the place of our judgment. The market settles, and it alone can settle price, which is the balancing element between consumption and production. The market is the meet-

ing and conference of the consumer and producer when they mutually discover each other's wants. Nobody has observed with any reflection what the market is, without being astonished at the truth, the correctness, the celerity, the general equity, with which the balance of wants is settled. Those who wish the destruction of that balance, and would fain, by arbitrary regulation, decree that inadequate production should not be compensated by increased price, directly lay their axe at the root of production itself. They may, even in one year of such false policy, do mischiefs incalculable; because the trade of a farmer is one of the most precarious in its advantages, the most liable to losses, and the least profitable of any that is carried on. It requires ten times more of labour, of vigilance, of attention, of skill, and, let me add, of good fortune also to carry on the business of a farmer with success, than what belongs to any other trade."

It has become a favourite procedure with legislators and the executives playing to their tune, to sit heavily on farm produce prices, acting on the theory that those prices regulate all other prices. In order to keep down prices at all levels, they think wages should be kept down, and this cannot be done unless the price of basic food-material is forcibly kept down. Acting on this theory, the farmer is oppressed and his state of penury made permanent. This shortsighted policy of keeping things cheap, by making the life of the peasants one of barren penury and hopelessness, cannot be too severely condemned. It is the worst form of tyranny that can prevail in an agricultural country.

The following profound words on the subject of legislators, with no knowledge of the work involved in agriculture, interfering in the affairs of farmers, uttered by Burke must be inscribed in large letters on the walls of our legislative chambers: "Of all things, an indiscreet tampering with the trade of food-grains and other farm produce is the most dangerous, and it is always worst in the time when men are most disposed to it,—that is, in a time of scarcity; because there is nothing on which the pas-

sions of men are so violent and their judgment so weak, and on which there exists such a multitude of ill-founded popular prejudice. What man, of any degree of reflection, can think that a want of interest in any subject, closely connected with a want of skill in it, qualifies a person to intermeddle in any the least affair, much less in affairs that vitally concern the agriculture of the country, the first of all its concerns, and the foundation of all its prosperity in every other matter by which that prosperity is produced?"

May 20, 1961. *Swarajya*

SURRENDERING TO THE INEVITABLE

TRAVELLING in my younger days was all done in shabby pony carts. Sometimes the cart would be put on the withers of a larger size pony, when the tilt would be very awkward for those who were squatting in the farther end of the basket of the cart. And if the animal got wicked and reared in protest against the whip, the little fellows at the back end would be thrown out. Physicists would say the thing *must* happen; they are bound to drop out. But would it be right for that reason to *push* them down, saying it is a gravitational necessity that cannot be escaped? No, rather it is the duty of the parents inside to do their best to break the force of this fall, if fall the child must.

It is true the trend of things everywhere is a breakdown of authority and tradition, and a swing to godlessness and proletarianism. But it does not follow that everyone must, therefore, act in furtherance of that same end. Is it not rather the supreme duty of good men to do their utmost to arrest as much as possible the violence and the wreckage? Evolutionary forces do work irresistibly, but man's place in evolution is to work intelligently to modify, resist and correct natural trends.

Eliminate the traditional restraints and the hierarchy of guidance, there will be nothing to keep humanity together in orderly cohesion. Without moral restraints there is no force that will hold the structure of society. The notion that secular government and democracy can be a substitute for Religion is moonshine. Small men think they become great by laughing at things to which men do reverence, and set up to preach to mankind a doctrine of progress without Religion. The Father of the Nation was a deeply religious person, not in any evasive godless sense, but in the traditional Indian sense. He knew and, what is better, he felt inwardly that Religion was the basis of civil society, and the source of all good and of all comfort—to repeat Burke's great words. Unless Religion and values issuing from it are preserved under the guidance of the elite, there is no hope for the world, or any part of it, in the dangerous conditions that have come into being as a result of technical 'advance'. It is pusillanimity to go floating down the current and helping that easy process. The moral duty of those who have right understanding is to stem the current and push up where the cataract is approaching, with courage and trust in God.

Is not death the sure and inevitable end of life? Yet is not life, very legitimately, a continual vigorous resistance of death? Do we misread truth and inanely say, well, death is the inevitable end, so let us hasten it? No, we do not say so, but rightly hold that the meaning and essence of life is all the time to go against the current leading to death. So in everything else. The energy and wisdom of man must counteract and thereby supplement nature. Let us not be deluded by pessimist philosophers and historians who always talk of the inevitable.

"Totalitarian States can be described as little more than enlarged wolf-packs in which the individual, unless he be in a position of power, is denied the human rights of responsibility, initiative and independence. But when individuals assert their inalienable rights of selfhood, the wolf-pack is broken and civilization is born." (Carlton Williams in *The Freeman.*)

The same writer says very truly, almost as if referring to the case in India : "The desire to succeed, to be accepted and accredited is universal. To achieve such desirable ends, the individual is inclined to avoid opposition or offence to others—especially those who are in authority." The only hope for the survival of freedom is the widespread practice of individual responsibility, no matter how difficult it may be. It requires a man to be a man no matter if all the rest are parasites. The organization, be it Union or State, does not create but only tries to keep what has been created. If there is any such thing as social responsibility or vision, it is reflected from individuals.

May 27, 1961 *Swarajya*

A LESSON FOR COLLECTIVISTS

It is now common knowledge that there has been a debacle in China on the agricultural front. Peking is making large purchases of Canadian wheat, and Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, speaking on behalf of the Indian National Congress, referred to a two-ounce ration prevailing in China. Whether this sneer was based on reliable information or not, it is clear that collectivization has not made China happy. The villages were grouped into big communes, and large production brigades took charge of the cultivation. Manpower, tools and livestock were all pooled and a 'revolution' in production was envisaged as a result of mass-farming. The expectations were not realized. It is stated that natural calamities played their part but agriculture is always dependent on the skies, and any plan based on uninterrupted grace from heavens is a wrong plan in agriculture.

"Large areas of good farmland were ruined by over-zealous operations organized by the urban communist leaders. The peasants became weary of forced labour and short rations, and

the constant changes of emphasis on projects that caught the fancy of the communists. What amounts to the virtual dismantling of the 24,000 giant communes was finally decreed last March". (This quotation is from a leading article in *The Hindu.*)

The fact of the matter is that no attempts can succeed in agriculture which seek to substitute patriotism and forced labour for the peasant's personal interest in the field. From commune to village is only one step. The final step must be from the village to the peasant and his field. It may be that this is no longer possible in communist China. But the basic truth of farming dynamics is not altered by political dogmas and conditions in China. The operations of cultivation of land are all over the world, among all productive industries, the hardest and most taxing. In the words of Edmund Burke, "it is one of the most precarious in its advantages, most liable to losses, the least profitable of any that is carried on. It requires ten times more of labour, of vigilance, of attention, of skill, and of good fortune to carry on the business of a farmer with success than what belongs to any other trade". Chinese agriculture had always been noted for high efficiency. The Chinese peasant produced large crops by hard and patient work without the use of machines or artificial fertilizers. The new leaders of China were bent on proving that socialist organization would give better results than the feudal methods they displaced. But the demonstration has been to the contrary effect.

The story of decreased production is not only in China. Communist efforts at improved farming in Eastern Europe too have proved the same truth—that the law of personal interest is inescapable in dealing with land and that the peasant's attachment to his farm is the basic foundation for agricultural production. If he is deprived of his rights in his field, the incentive for all the hard toil and vigilance necessary to make the earth yield the crop and save it from the depredations of bird and beast disappears, and however deep the ploughing may be done by the tractor, the yield goes down. The attempt to substitute

organization, public spirit and forced labour for the magic of ownership will fail in India too as it did in China.

May 27, 1961 *Swarajya*

PROPERTY AND FREEDOM

SAYS an American writer :

> Private property and a free economy are the material foundations of freedom. Neither liberty nor the pursuit of happiness as inscribed in the American Constitution is secure without the right to acquire and hold property. Property rights and human rights are inseparable, whoever controls the means of existence of a people, whether by monopolistic coercion at private hands or through the confiscation of property by the State, has power over life or death. Alexander Hamilton said : " Power over a man's subsistence is power over his will ". Leon Trotsky the communist put it brutally : " In a country where the sole employer is the State, opposition means death by slow starvation : who shall not obey shall not eat ".

It was therefore that the Indian Constitution framers put it down solemnly in the 19th Article that " all citizens shall have the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property and to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business ". This was classified as a fundamental right of citizens of India, and was guaranteed not merely against robbers and anti-socials and other law-breakers but against law-makers, the Government and Parliament included.

But now instead of respecting the letter and the spirit of the solemn charter, a collusion has been forged by the Congress Party leaders and those who follow the communist policy enunciated by Leon Trotsky (quoted above) that those who will not

obey, shall not be permitted to acquire, hold and dispose of property, and carry on any occupation or business of his choice, that all citizens are employees under the sole employer, the State, and that those who will not obey shall not eat. There is a complete accord between the Congress and communist and no communist hand is raised against any proposition of the Congress in Parliament. The Swatantra Party is fighting to overthrow this sinister combine to amend and nullify the Constitution.

May 27, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE FINANCE MINISTER IS COMFORTED

Mr. Hayden, by dint of telling all the world he is a great painter, has made them believe it.

—Thackeray in his Diary

THE President of the Madras Hindustan Chamber of Commerce has, according to newspaper reports, out-heroded Herod and proved himself more tax promoting than the Finance Minister himself. It appears Mr. H. C. Kothari, welcoming the Finance Minister to the annual meeting of his Chamber, referred in the course of his speech to the fact that the proportion of taxation to national income in India was only 9 per cent compared to 28 per cent in U.K., 33 per cent in U.S.A., 27 per cent in Germany, and so on. And Mr. Morarji Desai taking advantage of Mr. Kothari's figures thanked him for showing him " a great scope for raising taxation ".

Nothing can be more amusing than this percentage approach, ignoring the human aspect of the inadequacy of what is left over to support normal life when the national income is so low, and is so highly taxed as it is in India compared to the other countries

whose taxation percentages are quoted. Taking 1957-58 figures for the countries quoted, here are the *per capita* national income figures :

India	...	...	Rs.	289
U.K.	...	...	„	4,561
U.S.A.	...	...	„	10,124
Germany	...	...	„	3,530

Take off even 50 per cent from the other figures, we have still round about Rs. 2,300, Rs. 5,000, and Rs. 1,800. But any experiment of that sort on Rs. 289 would leave a calamitous result. Reduce the courses in a Raj Bhavan dinner by half, the guests can still be content. But reduce Oliver Twist's ration by a little, and you will starve him to death. There is nothing so fallacious as percentage fairness when we are dealing with vastly unequal quantities. Mathematics is good when it is fully understood, dangerous when knowledge is incomplete.

May 27, 1961 *Swarajya*

FISHERMEN'S WOES

It is a most reprehensible form of cruetly and social aggression for the Government and its allied organizations to drive the fishermen families of Madras out of their natural immemorial homes and occupational camps, in order to "beautify" the city and make room for industrial expansion and the housing of the more fortunate and influential classes. Madras was and must be treated even now as being basically a group of fishing villages —if human rights are to be respected in modern civilization. What right has the Government to oust these ancient owners of the seashore, whose occupation depends on proximity to their

Mother, viz., the salt water that bathes the coast-land and the wealth it bears for them. The life and daily work of the fishermen of Madras have no representatives or advocates in the legislature, but it does not follow that anything can be done with them that an official conceives in the direction of beautifying the city for tourists from abroad. In truth, the tourists would develop increased respect for a government and its army of officials, if they saw efforts made to make the lives of these ancient citizens of Madras more happy and easy. Foreigners would admire us if those who are in possession of authority displayed real concern to help these men who go out on the rough sea with their catamarans and their country-boats and nets.

There is no meaning in ignorantly asking them to shift to places pointed out by ignorant officials, when their work depends on their location. Their life is hard as it is, but if they are harassed in the way town improvement men are doing, it will be insufferable. The sea looks fluid and uniform for those who do not live on it. But to the fisher-flok, it is like land and plotted into fields, definitely demarcated each with its own harvest and giving it to the particular group of the community to whom it has belonged for ages.

Those who have a bias towards joint operations and socialist enjoyment can find in the lives and adventures of these fishermen what they so much aspire to. For that reason at least, they should be saved by the present ruling party from annoyance and inexcusable aggression.

Things must change with time, but oppression is not justifiable. To interfere in the affairs of a people whose life is very different from the land animals that we are, requires a thorough understanding of their conditions of life and occupation, and an attitude of respect for those who are poor, but who work much harder than we do and risk their lives and, above all, are contented with their lot and do not disturb the peace of the land or create problems.

Madras belongs to the fishermen families and not to the trespassers which we all are in the city. By all means beautify the city. You can beautify even the fishermen's *kuppams*, but do not destroy them, do not put others where these poor folk have lived for ages, do not expect them to occupy apartments and pay the rents which you fix, do not ask them to live impossibly away from their places of livelihood. They have to watch the sun and the tide to make their sea-mother give what they want; they cannot change their time-table, and come from a distance to their place of toil to suit your tastes.

One word more at the end. Let it not be imagined that I am writing this to fish in troubled waters. Let the Government and its quasi-public organizations for city improvement stop interfering and begin helping the Madras fishermen families in an understanding way at once, and in anticipation of the elections. I shall be very happy if all the credit is taken by the present Madras Ministry, provided the welfare of these fisher-folk is properly looked after.

Welfare and *happiness* mean almost the same. But the 'welfare State' fulfils the requirements of neither. Men and women want out of life not only rice-gruel to swallow for hunger, but a sense of self-respect and a feeling of control over the environment sufficient to establish a basic independence. If these conditions are absent or taken away for "public reasons", the men and women concerned are not happy and do not consider themselves as faring well. You may not help much. At least forbear stamping on their toes and causing excruciating pain. It is not human, whatever your motives may be.

May 27, 1961 *Swarajya*

SURRENDERING TO COMMUNISM

> I still think it's an honest man pursuing an impossible, ruinous, illogical system—not a selfish monster, but a despot on principle, which entails the use of the worst acts, the worst agents, and the most monstrous consequence of ills.
>
> —Thackeray in a letter to his mother about Louis Napoleon

MR. Walter Lippmann in his interesting articles in *The Herald Tribune* in New York and in *The Hindu* of Madras has with refreshing candour set out an important though unpleasant truth. What he has recently said about the futility of fighting fire with fire in relation to the American approach to the problem of containing communism applies with equal force to the fighting supposed to be going on in India between the Congress Party and the communists.

The illusion about fire being strategically and usefully used to fight fire, ends not in the extinguishment of the unwanted fire, but in a conspiracy and a joint fire. "In a free society like ours," says Mr. Lippmann, "a policy is bound to fail which deliberately violates our pledges and our principles, our treaties and our laws. The ultimate reason why the Cuban affair was incompetent is that it was out of character, like a cow that tried to fly or a fish that tried to walk."

The attempt in India that is made by the Congress Party to fight the communists by adopting the very policies of expropriation which the communists want, cannot succeed ; and it must to the extent of its success end in the Congress becoming a communist instrument and not in a victory over communism.

In India, as in America, as Mr. Lippmann has stated in clear terms, in the struggle with communism, we must find our strength by developing and applying our own principles, not in

abandoning them. We must re-discover our faith in the fundamental guarantees about the freedom of person, property and occupation with which we began Independence and not abandon that principle and hope to fight fire with fire. We cannot sacrifice free economy in order to fight the communists.

If the sacrifice of free economy is to be the strategy of the war against communism, the battle ceases to have a motive. If unintentionally done, it is a stupid betrayal of faith. If deliberately persisted in, it becomes a conspiracy between the Congress Party and the communists. The latter are licking their lips with glee seeing how this conspiracy is progressing. It was the same when in meeting the violence of the British Government, we sometimes thought violence should be met with violence and found our mistake.

We must adopt a way of producing progress and economic development through a free economy, not by losing faith in our own principles and surrendering to the totalitarian methods of communism called by another name. The goal of progress must be reached by the way we have chalked out for it in the Constitution. Any shortcut by way of the communist path would be betrayal of our pledges and principles, and a surrender to our enemy. Let us not in our eagerness to march fast integrate India with the communist empire.

The Swatantra movement is a movement for liberation : liberation of the citizen from the maw of the State. The fight for liberation is not less important or less sacred when it is to be fought against a *swadeshi* organization that has seized government and seeks to be a totalitarian dictator than when the struggle was against an alien organization which ruled us from London. The substance of freedom is located in the daily lives of citizens, not in the external affairs department in the secretariat. Are the lives and occupations of citizens in liberated India as free as they can reasonably be ? Are the restraints and regulations imposed on the citizens by the Congress Party such as

must be borne by citizens in every free democratic country? Are these restraints and regulations conducive to justice and fairplay and to the more equitable distribution of the means to happiness?

The answers to all these questions are in the negative. The restraints and regulations are such as to create undue advantage to favoured individuals. They are such as must destroy initiative and discourage enterprise, and generally act as deterrents of the creative effort of the human units that really are the nation. Other countries in the world have got on very well giving full play to the energy of the people in the direction of industrial and agricultural production. These restrictive regulations and their consequences in the material plane have had a devastating effect in the moral and spiritual plane as well. Individual greed has grown along with all the other evils associated with it. There now prevail more fear and more slave mentality than when the British were running a purely police government. The citizen is gradually losing his soul without knowing it. And this is more disastrous than even a fall in material standards. There are some worthy souls who began with the Gandhian idea of socialism, who believed as much in freedom as in general material welfare and progress but who have got tired of the processes of freedom and come to believe that material progress should have priority over freedom. They have thus, in effect, gone over to the side that now holds communists and Congressmen in one doctrinal net. These socialists keep their party apart just by force of habit imagining that thereby they help to keep off the danger of communism without losing the electoral advantage of offering paradise to the underdogs. Those who believe in the path of compulsion for bringing about material progress, and who would give the latter priority over freedom, should join the Congress, so that the issue of freedom may be kept clear and political goals and the forces behind them may be properly polarized. There should be no confusion in the popular mind and the issue of freedom shorn of ambiguities should be put before the voters. It should be either Swatantra or permit-licence-raj. Other party ramifications confuse the question and serve to give adventitious

advantages to the party which runs permits, quotas and licences. I hope some day we shall see Indian politics polarized between the Congress and Swatantra and all minor variations absorbed on either side. We shall then have balanced administration, vigilance, democracy and impartiality. The 'outs' will be as useful to the nation as the 'ins' and sometimes do more service when *out* than when *in.*

June 3, 1961 *Swarajya*

CO-OPERATIVE BUBBLE BURSTS

> "These statements are not true; but please don't call them lies. This is not lying; this is voting with your party".
>
> —Thackeray

THE continuous flow of bunkum on co-operation has been fortunately broken by a bit of plain commonsense from the mouth of the Reserve Bank Governor. The needle, however, is hidden in a great big haystack.

It had hitherto been taken for granted that the process of collectivization will somehow increase the total yield and make up for the shortcomings of the individual pieces. The plain mathematical untruth of this proposition was pointed out ever so many times by ever so many people speaking from experience, but emotional bias and wishful thinking and party loyalty have like a thick fog hidden the truth. Mr. Iengar has spoken the truth at last at Kumbakonam. "If the agrarian economy," he said, "is a subsistence economy and if savings are impracticable, co-operative effort cannot succeed. The effort to build up co-operatives must of necessity be co-ordinated with efforts to increase agricultural yields. Increased thrift and greater co-ope-

rative effort can come only with rising crop yields and increasing agricultural prosperity."

So at last, though the language is still loaded with jargon, the truth is stated that the mere process of adding up cannot produce anything additional over and above the sum of the individual units. The story that increased agricultural prosperity would issue by the mere bringing together of individual units has now been admitted by Mr. Iengar to be an illogical notion contrary to the permanent laws of arithmetic. All the talk about the great advantage of collectivization is froth. What is wanted is individual zeal and incentives for that zeal. Zeal and vigilance will come not with joining up several people's fields into one, but can come only out of individual ownership.

"The yield per acre in India of rice appears actually to have declined over a greater part of the last three decades. It is today very little more than what it was in 1931," said Mr. Iengar. Mere collectivization then can produce no new increase, but on the other hand will reduce personal interest, vigilance and exertion, with the inevitable adverse results.

It is good fortune that the Reserve Bank Governor does not speak like a partyman but speaks the truth, though prudently. It is unfortunate that fallacies are kept alive for the sake of the party line. Burke pointed out long ago that fanaticism is not caused only by dogmas in religion. It may be caused by a theory concerning government or agricultural or industrial production. It is dangerous, the same great political philosopher said, to try experiments on the farmer. "Those who have made but superficial studies in the natural history of the human mind have been taught to look on religious opinions as the only cause of enthusiastic zeal and sectarian propaganda. But there is no doctrine whatever, on which men can warm, that is not capable of the very same effect."

June 3, 1961 *Swarajya*

DISREGARDING SEX DISTINCTIONS

Would you wish your own daughter, madam, to have a smooth cheek, a modest air, and a gentle feminine behaviour or to be—I won't say a whiskered prodigy, like this Bearded Lady of Kentucky—but a masculine wonder, a virago, a female personage of more than female strength, courage, wisdom? —Thackeray

Some people, mostly women, think now that sex is an unwanted, unimportant accident which we must tolerate, because it is there, but not underline and aggravate; that we may ignore it and carry on as if all were men and there were no difference.

Should women and men aspire to the same goals, walk the same way, compete on the same terms, and be jealous, envious and intolerant of one another with no distinction or variation on account of sex? Shall we forget, ignore and discard the great phenomenon of love generated by the distinction between man and woman, the mysterous force that brings so much heavenly happiness into being, which operates as a divine instrument for inexpensive, unceasing joy, without which this world would be a desert if not a torment?

It is a colossal mistake to build on a negation of what is a fact, to disregard the distinction of sex, ignore the co-ordinate co-existence of male and female in the world, and to seek to make a more satisfactory world than what God intended, by levelling down in daily life the great difference between man and woman and their complementary virtues, capacities, functions and talents, and substitute competition, jealousy and hatred where every element had been shaped by nature for happiness and mutual supplement.

"Aha, you are showing the cloven foot of reactionary ideas! You are revealing yourself as a feudalist and a conservative," says Mrs. Progressive.

Yes, I believe that men and women were designed to make each other happy, to do different jobs, all which must be done. There is enough competition on each side of the line, between men and men, and between women and women; there is no need to break the line and have a pell-mell, all-round struggle.

The family is an unalterable unit, the basis of civilization, and it requires man and woman to come together—to supplement and not compete with one another. Any polity or culture or economy that ignores the family is bound to end in a caricature and corruption of life; and progress would only be a debased form of slavery for both man and woman under the single soulless employer—the State.

There are some who fondly believe that the pinnacle of progress will be reached when women will serve not to make men and themselves happy but are employed to guard the State's interests as spies in the commune or in the family reconstituted contrary to its fundamental character, wherein women will obtain a nearer admittance to secrets by reason of their sex. It would be an abominable exchange if the family with its mistress is to disappear and a State primary unit take its place at the bottom of the totalitarian organization. The family is the heart that pumps life into the State. But in the totalitarian Leviathan it is the State that pumps life into all the units at the bottom. The fluid pumped is not blood, not the naural joy of life, but the bitter plasma of regimentation and terror, the negation of happiness.

June 3, 1961 *Swarajya*

CONGRESS AND THE ELECTIONS

VETERAN freedom-fighter Mohanlal Saxena's resignation from the Congress and his accompanying statement have again brought to public attention the persistent canker in the Congress organization. Power has corrupted not only those of the Congress Party who have obtained offices of influence in Government but also the entire organization. The blood stream of the Congress has been poisoned and this is seen at all levels, even as diseases of the blood disclose themselves in various forms in all parts of the body. Bogus membership has been complained about for a very long time past. All sorts of steps have been taken from time to time either to put an end to the evil or to appear to be virtuous. But in spite of decades of effort Mr. Mohanlal Saxena has found it flourishing even to a degree compelling his resignation in protest.

But bogus membership is only a means to power in the Congress organization and its persistence is only a symptom of the deadly canker which has taken hold of the party. This is initimately connected with the unhealthy power enjoyed by the organization in the economic life of the nation through the permit-licence-raj that has been installed as a permanent feature of the socalled Indian democracy.

Falsehood takes various shapes. Bogus membership is only one form of it. It is at the base of the power-plans of influential and ambitious congressmen. But it does not stop there. It has infected even the purity of the electoral machine of the State. Immorality does not stop where it has thrived. It infects all round. Once upon a time there was not a whisper about vote-buying by the Congress Party. Once upon a time—alas, it was long ago. Now people do not hesitate to charge the Congress Party also with such 'tactics'. Do we not hear of 'heavy poll-

ing' for the Congress in rural areas where candidates opposing the Congress Party have not the means to appoint and post observers and agents? Do we not hear, again, of very heavy polling at some centres in the afternoon of polling day, and consequent unexpected Congress victories, although the prospect had been unfavourable in the morning? Any questioning of voters' identification can be made only after depositing Rs. 50 for every questioning.

It is well known that election expenditure has reached, in some constituencies, the one lakh mark and, in some others, it even exceeded that point. These are freely admitted and the limits of expenditure prescribed in the law are a dead letter. Look at the very substantial amounts demanded by the Congress Party from candidates. It indicates the temperature of the organizational greed for money, the money value of the seats aspired to, and how far expenses have exceeded the legal limits.

It is not possible to hold corruption when it has found a fixed place in the organization of the ruling party. It oozes into the official organization easily and by natural causes. It will take little time for petty officials to be inoculated by it, and then they will apply and compete for being appointed as polling officers in the rural area. Democracy is not easy. It requires as much care for purity as it requires vigilant and honest supervision over the materials that go to build a temple tower.

There is no need to despair, however bad the case may be, provided we have the courage to tackle root causes. The root cause is the excessive power taken over by the Government at the instance of the ruling party. This creates ambition and greed, according to the nature and temperaments of the persons affected by the desire for power. As for individuals, so for governments, it is not good to indulge in the appetites. The less of power taken over by the State and the political organization that is charged with the responsibilities, and is in enjoyment of the advantages of administration, the greater the odds in favour of

purity. This is the reason why Gandhiji said that that country is best governed which is least governed and pleaded for the greatest amount of freedom to citizens and the lowest quantum of power for government. We may be easily misled to accept the theory of the compelling necessity in the modern age to expand the field of governmental operations, but it will be certainly at the cost of the purity of the administration. It is safe to be lean, not safe to grow fat, if we wish to preserve health.

June 3, 1961 *Swarajya*

CO-EXISTENCE WITH NEIGHBOURS

If what we have hitherto deemed to be civilization has produced more and more anxiety and fear of some kind or another, we may well conclude it is not civilization. Fearlessness is the true test of civilization. Progress towards civilization is measured by the gap between man and the wild beast from whom, it is said, he has evolved. The human family which issued out of the same parents, whether according to religious traditions or according to the theory of evolution of species, has developed different features and complexions of the skin. So also has it developed different ways of life according to the differing physical and historical causes that shaped them either through long years of slow change or through sudden revolutions. If we love and desire peace we should learn to recognize the value of our neighbour's way of life (to him) as we value our own, and tolerate one another without seeking to impose our convictions and manners on others. Co-existence is the name given to this tolerance and this wisdom; for this is wisdom, intolerance being folly.

If any two sovereign nations decide—what I say applies particularly to India and Pakistan, but it would apply to any two

neighbouring sovereign countries—never to think of going to war with each other as it would ruin both, and to resolve all unresolved differences by the arbitration of a board constituted for the purpose, rather than by the gamble of war, they should constitute their present defence armaments into a single force under a single authority for the defence of the two countries against possible enemies.

This may appear to be contradicting the pacifist basis of what was stated earlier. But it is in fact not so. All gradual progress towards a goal must for a time contain such contradictions which, however, will grow less and less with growing confidence. The expenditure on armaments will necessarily be less, much less than before, much less than when the budgets had been made on the basis of mutual fear, until finally when example has had its effect on other nations, it may become just nominal. Thus should we work to bring about peace and disarmament—if not unilaterally, almost so and on that same principle—slowly, steadily, and under God's grace, as Robinson Crusoe grew his corn out of a couple of corn-blades that he found by chance.

Although I lay stress on graduality, I may at once say that this does not apply to the world-poisoning programme of nuclear weapons, which a few nations have framed for their own security. This must be stopped at once and once for all. This is necessary because a couple of nations cannot be permitted, whatever their difficulties or mutual fears, to poison the rest of mankind as a consequence of their plans of seeking security for themselves. They must plan otherwise than by a method which spreads poison and threatens danger and destruction to those who are not concerned in or cause their fears.

June 3, 1961 *Swarajya*

CONGRESS PARTY'S MISHANDLINGS

THE Congress Party leaders do not tire of repeating that casteism, communalism, regionalism, and linguism stand in the way of progress. All progress is presumed to stand linked up with the fortunes of the Congress Party, and everything that comes in the way of that party's plans and intrigues for success is a bad 'ism.

Every one of those 'isms issued out of the actual procedures and policies adopted by the Congress Party. This has been stated and re-stated by all the leading organs of public opinion in the country, and the indictment has been made in spite of the awe with which these organs of public opinion look upon the ruling party, and the powers it has taken which impinge on the business of conducting newspapers. 'Down-with-caste', 'down-with communalism' are cheap slogans which are easy to utter, and are facile incitements to class conflicts which may be exploited for gathering votes. Wisdom and good government consist in avoiding procedures that furnish continued life to the anti-national aspect of the institutions of religion and denominations.

If one exploits certain feelings and prejudices where they help the ruling party to make temporary gains, one cannot but expect these feelings and separatist emotions to flourish. Who created the linguistic anarchy that now threatens to overwhelm all educational and national progress towards unity? Parochialism and linguism have come to their present monstrous size and savage nature by reason of furnishing these forces with ample opportunity to practise tyranny, by distributing administrative autonomy on the tribal basis of language. The Prime Minister now calls the linguistic fanaticism that has reared its head by its true name, which I gave it long ago. The warning given was not heeded. Bloodshed has become the precursor of government wisdom so much so that people have been led firmly to believe that a few

police firings and deaths must be gone through before any good object is to be gained.

It is now proposed to put down communalism by laws and by force of police powers. We might as well fight the wind with muzzle-loading guns. Are you going to fight linguism, too, which it is now confessed is no less of a wicked anti-national force? Are you going to ban linguistic organizations, too, which interfere with politics in one way or another? Caste is both an evil and an organization in itself. Are you going to pass laws banning castes? Are you not aware that in the States, every administrative and educational authority is working under government instructions or connivance, with caste before it as a *vade mecum* for favours and disfavours, throwing merit to the winds? Are you aware of the subterfuges employed to deceive both people and authority in this mean work?

Has not the language policy directly and indirectly practised by the Congress Party led to educational anarchy and disintegration, insulating State from State? The national unity and widening of windows brought about by English has been hamstrung by the Government's language policy and its declared ideals. The drive against English has brought about its bad results so quickly that feeble repentances and penances are being now practised, but without giving up the main policy that has brought it all about.

The British people brought in a Hanoverian gentleman in 1714 to be King of England not minding the fact that he knew only German, and could not speak or understand a word of English, the language of the people of England. Can we not learn some wisdom from this piece of English history and give up our prejudices against what is often senselessly described as a foreign thing, the English language, and allow it to function as hitherto? The *status quo* in language will maintain and enlarge, and consolidate, national unity such as we inherited from the British regime. Instead of wisely recognizing this and following

the only correct policy in respect of language, we seek to make minor repairs of the damage caused by wrong policies adopted by the Congress Party, by pleading for some parochial *status quo's* neglecting the major all-India and all-important *status quo.* Vanity is the greatest enemy of wisdom and is mistaken for patriotism. Otherwise, who would think of disrupting English, which has bound us all together into a nation and made a highway for India into the international world, and exchange that possession for quarrels and brawls, and worse, all over India ?

There could be nothing more hypocritical than the declaration of the conference of chief ministers that the services should eschew communal tendencies. The services tried their best to do this. It is the chief ministers that injected the communal vice into the services, and incidently injected dishonesty also, because the one could not be injected without the other.

In the name of control and regulation for the general welfare, the ruling party is creating private monopolies in many paying lines of industry and trade. And these monopolies are given to favoured individuals and groups, and for paltry gains for the party chest. These favoured individuals are great propagandists for the Plan and for the socialist ideology ! Those who contribute to the party chest make it up many times over, through the monopolies they get. And whose is this loss ?—the consumers' and the nation's. Even as bargains these transactions show but poor understanding.

At a recent meeting Mr. Nehru laid down : "If we want results, we must plan". No one denies this. Any good plan is a design to exploit natural forces. No one can get away from natural forces. The struggle for progress can be achieved only by making the utmost use of personal interest and the creative energy, sustained effort, and untiring vigilance that personal interest creates. To leave things to the unreliable watch and poor initiative of paid bureaucrats is the anarchic way.

"Planning can only succeed to the extent that we put into it strength, vigour, enthusiasm and passion." This banality is pro-

nounced after nearly fifteen years of responsibility and office. Strength, vigour, enthusiasm, and passion in the struggle for peaceful achievement can come only if we recognize the plain-as-pikestaff truth that personal interest is at the bottom of human energy, enthusiasm and passion ; and unless plans are made to rest on this firm and live basis, they are but houses of cards.

"N. D. C. wants public sector to yield more," was the headline in all newspapers last week. The N. D. C. will have to cry in vain. For the public sector is devoid of the living spring out of which flows human energy and human enthusiasm and human vigilance. Laziness, indifference and barren dulness are the unmistakable and well-known marks of the public sector. We must reduce this necessary evil, the socalled public sector, to the minimum and not let it encroach and spread over fields where the private citizen's own interest can be well and safely yoked to the public interest. Wherever this has been done we have remarkable success in spite of every handicap that has been needlessly put in the way by a government that has fanatically adopted a wrong dogma.

We are told that from the discussion held on May 31 in New Delhi "one significant theme" emerged, which was that "more introspection was called for to find out why the country was not getting as much as it should from its investments in the Plan." The word 'introspection' must be underlined. Introspection may lead to a better and greater recognition of natural laws, of the magic of property and personal interest. Unless and until this is done, the people's money must continue going down the drain of bureaucracy. The burden of taxation must go on increasing. National indebtedness to foreign nations must assume heavier and heavier proportions with no plan or hope of repayment. We shall never be able to manufacture, or otherwise raise, commodities which we can sell abroad in order to repay the astronomical sums we proudly continue to sign for. Mr. V. T. Krishnamachariar may dogmatically tell us that we shall be able to repay, without explaining how. It would be more honest to say that there is

nothing wrong in begging for grants from the prosperous West in exchange for goodwill in the cold war, and take advantage of it. This may be a tenable plea whatever it may cost in self-respect, provided we take steps to utlize the money in the proper way, the opposite of which is being done now, trusting bureaucracy where we should bank on private enterprise and the vigilance born of personal interest.

June 10, 1961 *Swarajya*

CONGO'S TRAVAIL

No one desires that any race of any colour or standard of civilization should be kept by another people in helotry or subjected to foreign rule by force of military strength, money or organizational power. But when dealing with the affairs of men, facts and history cannot be ignored or bypassed. The laws of human nature and the dangers of the actual world situation must ever be kept in mind. When pursuing an utterly righteous end, it may enthuse us to such a degree that we are apt to disregard these difficulties. Even when advice comes from those whom we cannot regard as disinterested advisers but who are probably interested partisans, we had better listen and consider whether there is any truth and wisdom in what they point out. The actual experience in Congo has furnished a painful and naked demonstration of what must happen if a wrong step is taken, or a good step at a wrong time or in a not well-considered manner. The agony and travail of Congo should not be allowed to pass without impressing a lesson on us.

Sir Roy Welensky, the Rhodesian Prime Minister, spoke some truths at Salisbury on May 20. "The West is losing the battle for Africa," he said. No doubt this sets the wrong key for a

disquisition. Whose is the battle for Africa? Not the West's, nor Russia's certainly. It should be deemed a battle for human justice and not as if it were a chapter in the cold war strategy of any particular nation or group of nations in the non-African world. He would have been more right if he had said Freedom and Democracy are losing the battle. Perhaps he meant only this, although he put it in a different light.

And why is the battle being lost, whoever or whatever it may be that is losing it? Sir Roy Welensky puts it bluntly against the nations of the West. "They just do not understand what is involved." He says they are suffering from a wishful illusion which he with African experience does not share. "The West has failed to understand that you cannot *buy* friends." Money has great power as things stand in the present world; but it cannot serve as a market price for goodwill and friendship. Ill-will and distrust cannot be bought off with money and reconditioned overnight into friendship and trust. "Money and effort have been misdirected," says Rhodesia's Prime Minister. "On this continent," says he, "the shortest road to dictatorship is the premature grant of full democracy." The hesitation to grant freedom to conquered people and the justifications pleaded for that hesitation, no doubt sound stale in the ears of ardent freedom-loving people. But what Sir Roy Welensky says is not an untruth. Between democracy and dictatorship there is—and it ought to be realized that there is—a vast difference. Most released nations are by want of adequate preparation driven unavoidably into the net of dictators. Those who are still free are preparing for that condition. The dictatorship of a *swadeshi* leader is an attractive and tempting bondage. It has in it something of the nature of woman's eternal urge to dependence. In the one case it leads to true happiness but in the other, unfortunately, it leads to chaos. The individual wife's span of life is about the same as that of the husband's, but the span of life of a nation is much, very much longer than that of any dictator who takes over absolute power. After the best of dictators the aftermath is anarchy or a worse dictatorship.

There is another oft-recurring phenomenon of the nature of tyranny even within the boundaries of an emancipated people's territory—the tyranny of the majority over minority groups and communities. For the latter, national emancipation is often a fall from the frying pan into the fire.

The only healthy rule for a nation is enlightened democracy which can support itself through the centuries without break, unlike personal dictatorship which, beginning however benevolently, must end in corruption by the pressure of the power that is enjoyed. The checks and balances provided in proper democracy are necessary to preserve power from becoming a corrupting or tyrannical instrument.

It looks as if Sir Roy Welensky's seemingly old-fashioned warning may now inform the West's policy. Indeed, it appears as if his is the chastened voice of the Western people themselves. America, too, may learn from the present agonies in Africa and be inclined to moderate her well-known bias and turn somewhat towards what may be called the restraint of Morleyan liberalism in the field of colonial emancipation. The solution, however, is not what the Rhodesian Premier indicates. It is not prolongation of colonial domination of one race by another that will serve mankind in the present situation of world rivalries. It is the establishment of a safe and well-organized world trusteeship which will, by the very nature of its constitution, be more interested in the shedding of its own responsibility as soon as possible than in maintaining its hold and authority, totally unlike the tendencies of the trusteeship of a single nationality which has been tried and found wanting in most cases. There is no better way out of the dilemma than the entrustment for a time of the affairs of emancipated people to the care of the United Nations, when our object is adequately to prepare that people for full self-government. This calls for the organization of a first class United Nations civil service such as Dag Hammarskjoeld has been pleading for. It is an urgent programme that must be taken up in the interest of the people waiting for emancipation from the domina-

tion of colonial Powers or from that of dictators, whose power, however great and overwhelming for the time being and able to preserve order, is necessarily limited by the merciless laws of time and is bound to lead to disaster and anarchy after that limit is reached. This is not a scheme with a similar reactionary intent behind it, but kindness and much wisdom which are better than thoughtless benevolence.

June 10, 1961 *Swarajya*

INTOXICATION OF POWER

> "My horse may be worth twenty pounds in London now," said Mr. Dizzin; "but if I am certain that the Government will take possession of him to mount the cavalry, my tenure in the brute becomes hazardous, and his value instantly drops."
>
> —From an old English book.

My dear and enlightened friend Mr. Humayun Kabir spoke at the Damascus University on Wednesday last week and, in the course of his address, said that all the cardinal principles of Islam had been embodied in the Indian Constitution.

Likewise may savants admiring the Hindu scriptures assert that the cardinal principles of the Upanishads have been embodied in the same secular document. And the Sikh and Christian, and particularly the Buddhist doctrines too, may be deemed to have been embodied in the proud document.

This follows from the fact that the blessed saints and seers of all religions spoke the same things to all men in different languages, and the framers of the Indian Constitution had no intention to ignore or depart from those accepted principles of conduct and pattern of life.

The point, however, is not what was embodied in the written Constitution but what is being *done* by those to whom the task of government has been entrusted under that Constitution. Do they fulfil the trust or do they disregard the terms of the trust, even seek to alter the trust deed itself to suit their own conduct?

Not what you *talk* but what you *do* matters. Does the Constitution want or permit a party returned to office to expropriate what is the lawfully acquired or inherited property of a citizen, and offer such plunder as a bribe to others for being returned again to power? Does Islam or any other scripture permit this to be done by any king or ruler? Does it permit or want you to condemn communalism and at the same time (and in a sly way) exploit the same communal and caste groupings for your own purposes?

Does the Constitution which embodies all the cardinal principles of Islam, as Mr. Humayun Kabir says, and as others believed the teachings of Buddha and Christ and the *Bhagavad Gita*, commend the collection of funds for the ruling clique's party chest, the operation being entrusted to prominent ministers who hold the power of promoting or ruining the business of commercial men and industrialists and selected go-betweens?

Would it be approved by Mohamed or Buddha or Jesus that officials should be trained and given an intensive course in collecting money for the party from milch-cow men living in daily terror of officials, or who amass more wealth through monopolies acquired by the favour of the ruling party, knowing that such training will inevitably and automatically serve to teach ministers and officials how to collect bribes for personal and family purposes later on when they wish to do it.

What matters is not what is embodied in the Constitution, but what is done by the socalled Congress leaders who have acquired ruling power and who have got a stranglehold on the life and the purses of all the Vaisyas in the country.

Does any of the scriptures of the Hinuds or others commend the proportion to which taxation has now grown : taxation, open and hidden, which makes the cost of living a grievous affliction to the poor and to the orphaned middle classes ? An old Chinese saying was 'what you do is loud and drowns what you say'.

One can thus go on writing on the subject of hypocrisy and bad management, and the greed for power that has corrupted a party which once displayed exemplary honesty. But what good is it ? Unless we displace the intoxicated demagogues from their places of power, there is no hope for the good people of this country. If this is not done, what awaits us is military rule or, worse than that, the taking of all power by the communists. The only hope of averting either of these calamities lies in defeating the Congress Party at the ensuing elections or at least a measure of success in that direction, which will result in the installation of a balanced machine of government in the place of an inebriated political autocracy, which thrives on the international tension and the support extorted from abroad and takes pride in it.

June 17, 1961. *Swarajya*

RELIEF FOR STERILITY

THE man of science is a child made large. The urge of curiosity and adventure that is the moving force in the child takes the man of science to unknown territory and reckless pursuit. But what is pardonable or even healthy in the child is unpardonable in the mature man of science.

I remember how one day I set fire to a cloth hanging to dry in a room and watched the flame going up, and when I was thoroughly delighted with the scene, I went and told my aunt to share in the entertainment ! Of course, she and others rushed

to put out the fire; else the old fashioned house with rafter and bamboo roofing would have gone into flames entirely.

This was an advance demonstration on the lines of the present nuclear technology and the Geneva Conference which is trying to put out the global fire. The man of science behaves as I did; but when he has seen something important happening, he seeks to put his results to some human use according to his ideas of human wants, in order to get value for his wares. He is engaged not in an appointed task for humanity, but seeks to sell to humanity what he has discovered by toilsome accident; he seeks to cash in the results of his curiostiy and idle adventure. It is topsy-turvy, the reverse of the proper order. Dr. C. V. Raman, therefore, rebukes his brother scientists who have tried shooting to the stars.

The successful fertilisation of a 'ripe' ovum in a test tube has been recently announced from Tokyo. The Japanese expert claims that the test-tube-impregnated ovum, when transplanted in the womb of a sterile woman, would (or might, to be more accurate) enable her to bear a child. So, says the scientist, here is service to mankind; the unfortunate women who have not been able to bear children can have a son or daughter with the help of a scientist! Modern scientific adventure, standing on its head and playing tricks, is good entertainment indeed. Standing on its head, because it first proceeds on its own urge and then thinks of human use for what it comes across.

Ancient wisdom has a right to sneer at such successes, for thousands of years ago it presented a complete, more natural, less dirty, safe and more certain, not one but a couple of solutions for the problem. Instead of surgical transplantation, with all its doubts and risks, of other people's ovum and sperm prepared by the diligent scientist in his laboratory, our unlearned forefathers permitted bigamy as respectable in such cases, and as an alternative founded the institution of adoption. The nursing of affection for children taken from kinsmen's families or elsewhere, and of their deliberate choice, was the old recipe. The ugly

transplantation of ovum and semen is an awkward edition of the natural procedures advised by our ancients. For is not the womb of a sister or cousin or other relation as good and safe a laboratory as any of the scientists? It has the advantage of a more expert directorate than any laboratory of the present day can claim to possess. Modern science and technology have wandered a long way, so to say, and by a full circle arrived at ancient wisdom. In essence, both procedures amount to the same thing, the adoption of some other mother's child as one's own.

The painless way of adoption gives to the childless mother a ready-made young baby and not a fertilised ovum from different unknown sources purchased by the scientist. A born baby is certainly a better bargain than the surgeon's tube. It is certainly cleaner and less risky in every way. One does not know what Dr. Roundabout's gift may turn out to be. You know whose child you adopt, what he or she looks like and more or less what probable inherited character may develop as the boy or girl grows. Adoption by choice, open and public, sanctified by religious rites and fostering love, is far superior certainly and more enlightened and more moral than the concealed adulteries done at the instance of the technological biologist in his laboratory and sold to you.

It is better that you know whose child you take by adoption, knowing how the boy or girl looks like, and came of what parentage. Certainly it is better than this filthy process called artificial insemination or test-tube-fertilization. Better still is acceptance of God's will and making the wisest use of your capacity for affection and your wealth when you have no child of your own to shower it upon. And there is a whole world of hungry poor children waiting for that love and that material assistance which, by reason of childlessness, you can easily afford to give. May the urge of benevolence never dry up in men and women and may sterility be an *opportunity* and not looked upon as *misfortune.* And may the dangerous vanities of science come to be looked upon as wicked, like all other vanities.

June 17, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE LESSON OF ASSAM

"SHASTRI's Language formula : Continued use of English at State level in Assam"—this headline figured in all the papers last week. The *a fortiori* argument is unanswerable, and the conclusion inevitable, that not only in Assam but the continued use of English at inter-provincial and Central level is the wisest policy to follow at Delhi; unless indeed a new rule of public life in India is sought to be reached by convention that riots and disturbances and police killings must always precede government wisdom. The nation owes a debt of deep gratitude to Assam and to the Bengali people who have paid a heavy price to teach us all an important lesson. Everyone now has realized the unwisdom of withdrawing English and what horrors and follies follow and fill the vacuum.

What is found necessary and good for Assam, and for one year, is most probably good for all India and for all time, because these feelings about language are not going to die in a year or two. Time limits are an excuse for incapacity to take proper decisions by reason of the conflict between incorrigible bias and plain commonsense. It is the result of want of courage to do the right thing at the right time and a Micawberian faith in the theory of something turning up later, which may make things easy for a bankrupt.

The truth is written in large and clear characters that, as far as modern India is concerned, the English language is and must continue to be the instrument of unity and impartiality, the window for daylight, the path to progress, and the highway to international position.

National dignity is bound up not with Hindi or any other local tongue, but with the classical language of India, namely,

Sanskrit. That great language may hold all our national ceremonials and be our symbol of seniority among the peoples of the world. But the political and administrative medium of multilingual India had better—for the sake of peace, if for nothing else—be the same as that of Britain and America, a medium which the elite of our nation has laboriously and successfully acquired and has been using for over fifteen decades, which has united all the regions of India and places them all on an equal level.

The withdrawal of English from its present position in the Government and the universities will result in disastrous inefficiency of administration, the conversion of united India into a group of warring islands, with tyranny and disaffection raging in each autonomous area. Nature has, as is usual with that stern mother, given us notice in advance. We have seen how ugly things can become if we remove this vital instrument of modern unity in India. If we learn a lesson from the Assam troubles, she must be considered to have constituted herself a public benefactor at great sacrifice.

Sanskrit and the Vedas bound us together in the golden past. But today's classic is English. It binds us all with a strong rope; it is a medium that is not only a medium but a sustaining blood vessel of nutrition. And what is most important, it gives us a high place in the larger world, gives equal rank to Nehru with Kennedy and Macmillan and an advantage over everybody else.

June 17, 1961 *Swarajya*

A PURIFICATORY RITUAL

WHAT is hypocrisy? It is not mere simulation or pretence; it is something more. If you elaborately set up a virtue or pattern

of goodness for others, and you practise dissimulation while you do just what you have preached against, and the pretence is obvious to everybody, you are a hypocrite.

At Durgapur a firm resolution was passed by the Congress Party that there should be no dealings with communal parties and a direction was issued to Kerala that there should be "no truck with the Muslim League" in dealing with the Speakership vacancy.

Now, a joint meeting of the legislative parties of the Congress, P.S.P., and the Muslim League of Kerala State was held on June 7 at Trivandrum, and it was announced that the Muslim League Party leader, Mr. Mohammed Koya, should go through the ritual of announcing his resignation from the Muslim League and then all the parties, including the Congress, would put him up jointly as the Government nominee for the Speakership.

Mr. Shankar (leader of the Congress Party) claimed that this was a 'satisfactory' settlement and that this was an acceptance of the wishes of the Congress High Command "in spirit as well as in letter". The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Nambudiripad, however, declared that "nobody will be deceived by this formula jointly arrived at by the Congress and the Muslim League", that this was a "virtual rejection of the Durgapur line of 'no truck' with communal organization" and that it was obvious that the "Congress High Command had given its blessings to this shameless violation of its declared policy".

The straightforward course would have been for the Congress to say that, though now the Congress has resolved to have no alliance with any communal organizations in future, it feels bound to respect the obligations arising from the alliance already entered into with the Muslim League in Kerala and therefore it accepts the claim of the League to the Speakership. But casuistry and hypocrisy are more agreeable to the Congress than the respecting of contracts or frank confession of failures.

The Congress Party had entered into an alliance with the League in Kerala on well understood terms. The very resolution laying down future policy implied that an alliance had been previously formed, such as is not now favoured. Whatever new policy the Congress chose to adopt, its previous commitments should continue to be honoured and there should have been no shame or difficulty about giving the Speakership in Kerala to the Muslim League.

Mahatma Gandhi had demonstrated, in a great and unforgettable manner, the duty of honouring commitments. He insisted that the Congress Government of India should pay the fifty crores of rupees to belligerent Pakistan which India had promised to pay, even if it should become an addition to the sinews of war for aggression against India. But the present Congress leaders have no regard for commitments or contracts or property rights. They prefer to solve difficulties by hypocrisy. The leader of the Muslim League Party is given the Speakership, because unless the League is placated the Congress cannot get on there. So a ritual is suggested that the leader of the League Party should "resign" his membership of the League and then the Congress Party would nominate him with a clean conscience absolved from the sin of disregarding the Durgapur resolution even before the Durgapur ink was dry. The League leader accommodates himself to this ritual and goes through it—which of course is a pity but understandable, for he gets what he is otherwise entitled to—and the scene is closed and declared O.K. A socalled anti-communal resolution would look nice and so it had been passed. A 'trick' with the Muslim League was necessary and so it has been done. And a ritual as prescribed by the Pope resolves the contradiction. It is not for non-believers to cavil.

June 17, 1961 *Swarajya*

BEREAVED*

THE world of journalism in India has lost one of its bravest and best veterans. He was a fierce soldier for truth and justice, with a heart as gentle as a child's. Altogether he was a rare type of man. His affectionate devotion to me these last days was such that my personal bereavement is next only to his wife's. Having seen the physical travail that he had to bear, I have no heart to complain. He has gone to the peace that belongs to good men. He was a shining example all his life, teaching men how to be fearless, how to sacrifice, how to be good, and how to be useful.

He was an authentic representative of God to me in these difficult days which I am going through. I have lost one who bathed me with his affection and rejuvenated me when I felt weary. He was beloved of all, because he overflowed with love and forgiveness for all. He helped with his courage when I felt mine failing. He gave hope when I felt depressed. He would urge the constant presence of God whenever I felt lonely. He stood like a rock for *dharma* and compassion. He was every moment of his life an example and a demonstration of the complete surrender to the Divine Ruler, which alone gives the peace which the soul yearns for. In this he was a monitor for me. My bereavement is great and I am unable to suppress my self-pity.

June 24, 1961 *Swarajya*

---

* This tribute was paid to Khasa Subba Rau, the Editor of *Swarajya*, who passed away on Friday, June 16, 1961.

LESSONS IN THE HARD WAY

> Economic planning has acquired a hold over the educated Indian mind and the literate population of the country of a kind that is to be found perhaps nowhere else in the free world. Indians are in fact prepared to assign to the new theories of growth a certitude which many other people find difficult to accord.
>
> —*The National and Grindlays Review*

NOT by repeated arguments but only by painful experience do men see light. Arguments are met by arguments. Prejudices and obstinacy are not shattered but get hardened by the hammer strokes of reason.

We have seen this in the case of the language problem in multilingual India. But recent painful events have made a silent change in the convictions of many important leaders. The case of the Prime Minister is different, for he had, I believe, always doubted the wisdom of replacing English by Hindi. He now has ample evidence to confirm his misgivings. A silent shift has occurred in the linguistic policy. I do not wish to repeat old arguments which may take the unpleasant colour of 'I told you so' which may not help but may hinder the course of the new sanity.

The executive of the Indian Medical Council has suggested to the Gujerat University that English should continue as the medium of instruction for medical courses. The university had called for the opinion of the Council on its plan to switch over from English to Gujerati as the medium of instruction, at university level, for all departments including the Medical Faculty. In a letter to the university authorities the Council is reported to have stated that 63 out of the 67 organizations and authorities whom the Council had approached had strongly recommended English as the medium of medical education.

As the foreign house of Hanover has admirably suited the British Throne, let this 'foreign' language, which has served India these ten decades so well, continue to serve the administration, and preserve the unity of this large country. Let the maximum mobility be enjoyed by the elite of the nation by the continuance of English. Mobility more than all other things helps to unite us into one nation. English gives mobility to the elite of all the regions and keeps away the evil spirits of suspicion and jealousy. These evil spirits will be encouraged by the displacement of English by any particular Indian language.

Political leaders of local areas should realize that the measure of their own non-acquaintance with English should not be a negative force to mislead them. Their political power does not lie in the administration. It lies and should lie in the legislatures where the language of debate and exposition will be the local language. Education and administration should aim at all-India unity, all-India mobility, efficiency, impartiality and avoidance of unfairness, and even the appearance of it. Let us look upon the language medium in the same way as we look upon other means of communication, the railway, the telegraph and the like as a handy servant and not be needlessly afraid of it.

Again, in regard to the agricultural and food problems of the country, facts revealed in surveys and embodied in official reports, have brought about a clarification more effectively than any arguments and debates. After surveying the statistics of the performances of co-operative societies, the Governor of the Reserve Bank has given his unmistakable impressions. *The Hindu*, reviewing all this, pungently wrote the other day : "Every other type of society (calculated to improve the out-turn of agriculture) which involved some form or other of pooling of land for purposes of cultivation seemed to work more often at a loss than at a profit. It is up to the Government to find out why this is so". Why this is so is obvious enough; lack of interest which nature attaches only to ownership.

Here are the results of one year's working, the last under review. Two-hundred-and-fifty-one joint farming societies broke, 622 societies showed a loss amounting to Rs. 13 lakhs.

Two-hundred-and-eighty-five collective farming societies worked at a loss of nearly Rs. 7 lakhs and 221 societies showed no profit. One lakh and two thousand acres were placed under 893 collectives. Not only was there no profit but there was loss of Rs. 2½ lakhs. Ignoring the losing societies, those that produced profit yielded three and half rupees per acre put under collectives !

Of the tenant farming societies, which also were experiments in the pooling of lands, 890 ran at a loss totalling nearly Rs. 4 lakhs.

These facts prove the futility of any form of collectivism, either compulsory or induced by various temptations. These latest figures of the Reserve Bank at least must convince, where arguments have failed. India cannot afford to depend on State-directed compulsory labour, abandoning the magic of property and the incentive of individual interest. If slavery is execrated, it is because labour is compulsorily extracted for the benefit not of oneself but for another person or organization.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a fraud, wrote Lord Morrison of Lambeth recently in introducing a revealing secret document of the communists. It is the dictatorship of the communist secretariat, he said, and not of the proletariat. So is the socialism of the Indian National Congress a combination of ignorance and fraud. The dictatorship of the party high command goes by the deceptive name of socialism.

The poor must be lifted to a better life. There is no doubt about this and everyone agrees that this should be our great aim and preoccupation. But the Congress Party is going the wrong way to achieve this, by using the powers of the State to mop up

all savings and resources and increasing the field of State-management. What should be done is to do everything to increase private prosperity and expand the opportunities of the poor for employment. It is only in the enlargement of the field for employment spread country-wide that the welfare of the poor lies.

It is an insane and impossible plan to seek to give land to everyone and adopt an expropriatory drive to appear to be wanting to do this. It is dishonest to ask for votes on this basis. It is equally unintelligent to rely on collectivization in any form to improve the lot of either small peasants or landless workers, or to increase production.

The first thing to be clearly realized is that the increase of national wealth depends on the expansion of individual enterprise and energy. Every inducement, incentive and encouragement should be given to this end. Instead, everything done by the Congress tends to discourage individual effort by its twin policies of expanding public management to the maximum and by a system of controls and licences giving monopolies to favoured individuals protecting them absolutely against competition. The latter is given the name of the private sector and people are made to believe that everything is done for helping individual enterprise through a mixed economy. A poisonous mixture of private monopolies and growing Statism is what now the Congress Party stands for. There is a go slow policy followed now in view of the general elections. But when they are over, the Congress policy will be naked Statism. The Swatantra Party stands for prosperity through a free economy, with no favours but fair competition and a rapidly enlarging field for employment in all the productive and distributing activities of the nation, industrial, agricultural and commercial.

June 24, 1961 *Swarajya*

COMMUNAL PARTIES

A friend sent some questions to me respecting communal parties and particularly about the Muslim League. Mr. Phiroze Shroff's article in a previous issue of *Swarajya* makes the legal position perfectly clear. It is morally wrong and legally not permissible to place any ban on any association formed for the furtherance of the interests of any group of people, be it for their political interests or any other interests. This is a fundamental in democracy and has been enshrined in the Constitution.

However, communal parties will permanently remain as minorities if they enter politics in communal groups and will unnecessarily evoke resistance from other communities. It is therefore in their own interest, and in the larger interest of the country, that religious and denominational minorities should participate in one or other secular party.

The banning or the licensing of political parties is a privilege enjoyed only by totalitarian dictators. The narrowmindedness called communalism has to be fought intelligently, not by legal bans but by education and propaganda. The Swatantra Party believes in recognizing merit and is pledged—if given the opportunity—to demonstrate its impartiality in giving equal opportunities to all minorities, having due regard to qualifications. The Swatantra Party is opposed to any open or administrative or indirect discrimination against the Muslims or others.

A question has been raised about Urdu. Urdu is one of the recognized languages under the Constitution. The Swatantra Party is devoted to the purpose of restoring the true spirit of the Constitution and implementing it faithfully. Urdu should receive the same treatment as the other languages mentioned in the Constitution. In every area where a substantial section of the people

speak Urdu, all facilities for the education of children through the medium of Urdu should be given.

Every citizen of India is entitled to protection and the due process of law. When incidents occur between two citizens of India, even though they may be of different communities, the guilty individuals should be punished. The crimes of the individuals should not be allowed to be deemed to be the offence of any denomination or community. The family, friends and other members of the offender's community should enjoy complete protection from fear and mob violence. Any government official, minister or lesser politician found failing in his duty, in the discharge of this responsibility, should be dealt with severely.

June 24, 1961 *Swarajya*

ORISSA ELECTIONS

ANYONE with a reflective turn of mind who loves his motherland will not be hilariously happy over the Orissa elections as the Congress bosses are. *The Hindustan Times's* special correspondent has sent to that paper an informative report as to how the Congress won its 82 seats in Orissa. He says that the party, according to 'reliable sources' of information, spent about Rs. 40 lakhs in the elections. Two hundred jeeps were in action. And ten thousand workers (of course, paid) were in the field. "During the closing phases of the campaign, jeeps were rushed from the Congress headquarters upon telephone calls from 'danger spots' and the jeeps were rushed even during night time with men and money".

The enormity of this 'campaign' can be realized if we remember that the party expenditure was really not for party pro-

paganda but was spent on each individual candidate for obtaining votes cast for him. On the average, then, this evasion of the election law exempting party expenditure from the calculation, amounted to spending on each candidate four or five times the maximum permitted by the law as Mr. Ashoka Mehta has said. "While the Orissa elections provided a resounding victory for the Congress, it has been won by means which have weakened the forces of democracy. It is freely admitted," Mr. Ashoka Mehta says, "that the limit of expenditure has been exceeded four to five times."

It is not open to party organizations to practise such subterfuges and nullify the election law by means which admirers of Mr. Patnaik appreciate as "organizational efficiency". This sort of efficiency of organization on what has been called a 'war footing' will one day, when patience is at an end, surely lead to violence. Civilization invented legal restrictions in order to avoid the physical consequences of exhausted patience. When law is discarded by those who are entrusted with the guarding of it, faith in law is undermined and society easily reverts to savage conditions. And this is what the communists and some others too, perhaps, are waiting for. The evasion of the electoral laws adopted by the nation through the subterfuge of party expenditure and the brazen-faced collection of funds for the party chest, for this purpose, by freely brandishing the powers of the State over fat industrialists, cannot be tolerated if we sincerely desire the parliamentary form of government to continue and democracy to be saved. Organizational adventurism is fatal to democracy and leads at the end to dictatorship.

Notwithstanding the understandable unwillingness of the press to throw too much light on the indecencies of the ruling party, these have been brought to public attention. Parties and leaders have shed their fear and hesitation and have given expression to their disgust at the manner in which the election law was disregarded in the Orissa elections. It is a wrong interpretation of the law to assume that the party can do whatever it

likes without fear of being charged with infringement of the law in regard to expense. When the party does this in order to help its candidates in their several constituencies, the party must be treated as doing it on behalf of the candidates and the excessive expense and the other infractions of the law cannot go unpenalised.

I hope some public-spirited watch-dog of a citizen will be on the look out and tell us when these jeeps are reconditioned and supplied to some public department in fulfilment of an existing contract. The ambiguity between Government and party is a growing evil and the ruling party is adept in throwing the financial burden of electioneering on the State and the tax-payer, notwithstanding the huge levies it has been making to fill the party chest from industrialists, businessmen and licence-holders. The collections for party purposes are in inverse proportion to the credit for integrity that the party enjoys.

June 24, 1961 *Swarajya*

A CRISIS IN DEMOCRACY

THE scandals which have been moderately expressed in the public press about the Orissa elections must open our eyes to a very grave danger. What has transpired in this connection is probably an underpainted picture. The reality probably is worse than what Mr. Ashoka Mehta and others have stated. Such abuses are grave enough to form a battle-ground and a cause for displacing a party in power, apart from anything else. The Constitution itself will become a mockery and wither away if such practices are tolerated without challenge. The entire fabric of parliamentary democracy will go into smoke, if crores of rupees are collected by a party in power, by exploiting the dependence of people on the party's pleasure for carrying on their economic

activities, and if such money power is openly utilized in the elections for continuing in office. It is a crisis in democracy graver than many red-herrings drawn across the track, and demands urgent attention. Castes and communities, poverty and illiteracy cannot be abolished in a day, but this corruption of democracy is an advancing monster far too proximate to be indifferent about. Long-standing maladies and long due reforms are irrelevant in this context of a grave menace to democracy. The monster can be defeated and honesty restored if all those who want democracy join and give battle.

Our Prime Minister came to an abundant inheritance of love but, I fear, and I say it with sorrow, he has wasted it. He has let slogans take the place of sanity. He has allowed the party he had the privilege of leading to become a party of careerist sheep. He has passively encouraged congressmen to become corrupt until the whole countryside has come to feel it and, what is worse, he has allowed the corrupt machine to grow into an impregnable fortress sustaining itself on its spoils.

An issue of primary importance, which is an issue of morality and a problem of grave constitutional importance, has developed out of the disclosures in the Orissa mid-term elections. These disclosures are no surprise to me or to others who have watched anxiously the trends and the activities of the ruling party during the last few years. But what has happened in Orissa elections is enough to open the eyes of even the most sleepy and the most deluded citizens whose simple faith in the Congress has been systematically exploited. The flagrant manner, completely free from all sense of decency or delicacy, in which the Congress Party and its chosen agents in the States, including men holding most responsible positions in the party and in the government, have been using their position and the power behind them to make or mar businessmen, in order to raise immense amount of money, and using that money to destroy democracy at the base, has raised a question of urgent fundamental and overriding importance.

There can be no free or fair elections if this power to raise unlimited money, and spend it to capture votes, is allowed to be exercised by the party in office. The People's Representation Act has been rendered into nullity and the Constitution is rapidly becoming meaningless. It has been converted into a self-sufficient mechanism to establish the dictatorship of the party in office.

This party has in the name of socialism organized a State machinery (supported by legislation and rules) to distribute private monopolies and create milch-cows for the party. There is no chance for any other party, whatsoever its declared policy or ideology, to oust the dictatorship of the Congress Party. Money has replaced political debate and made irrelevant every other consideration. All the other parties in the country should realize the danger and face this crisis in our democracy.

The communists have become aiders and abettors in this process of destruction of freedom. They are waiting like kites and crows for parliamentary democracy to die as a result of the open immoralities and flagrant evasions of the law by the Congress Party. The policies and propaganda of the ruling party will have prepared the field completely for occupation by communists when that time arrives. Indeed the Congress will have by then quietly transformed itself into a communist party already in power and ready to absorb the official Communist Party wholesale.

Meanwhile we shall see the spectacle of men like Mr. Patnaik in Orissa, who are standing refutations of socialism and symbols of big business and money power, being made into heroes and leaders for the worship of misguided men.

It would be of considerable interest if the Chief Secretary to the Government of Orissa could inform the public in how many departments Mr. Patnaik held substantial interests in contracts for the totalitarian Congress which has thrown all delicacy and what contracts he holds in Mr. Krishna Menon's ministry in New Delhi. This is the first time this type of person, one who is

thoroughly experienced in making money through Government contracts, has become Chief Minister of a State.

It is no longer possible for honest men to be apathetic and allow this dictatorship to grow impregnable and become permanent. It is no longer wise to be engaged in disputations over dogmas and remain disunited intellectuals, leaving the field free for the totalitarian Congress which has thrown all delicacy and sense of right and wrong to the winds, and is openly and without fear of question using its power to collect immense sums and using that money to nullify parliamentary democracy. Those who bask in the sunshine of favours from the ruling party are abetting this process of destroying the Constitution, and bringing India also into line with other Asiatic nations whose independence has not developed into freedom but has lapsed back into autocracy.

The gravest issue now is, shall we allow this rape of the freedom of parliamentary elections ? It is a constitutional, fundamental and moral issue. It is not socialism for which the Congress stands but a mechanism to feed power-greed. Money has been installed on the Throne at Delhi. It must be resisted if we wish freedom to survive, if we do not desire that Independence should rot into foul corruption.

Whether the Swantara Party wins or loses in this unequal combat, whether the people will rise above the satanic power of money and economic terror, and disprove its arrogant assumption that everything will go down before that power, I am determined, if God permits it, to continue to give battle even if I have to do it all alone against this immorality and fraud that stalks under the name of the Congress. Because, in all humility, I believe in the ultimate truth of the Upanishad mantra embodied in the Crest of the nation, *Satyam eva jayate na anrtam.* It is *anrtam* that holds power and threatens to hold it for all time. Let us see if *satyam* will ultimately fail. I am sure it will not.

July 1, 1961 *Swarajya*

A PLEA FOR UNITED FRONT

It is too late in civilization's day for any person, clique or group or party to claim that he or they have an *objective* for the nation different from that of others. Political parties deceive themeslves or others, or both, in believing or claiming that their objectives are different from and better than what others work for.

The reality is that people differ from one another not as to objectives but as to *means* and *instruments*. They do not and cannot differ as to the aim of national happiness. Of course there are different ideas of happiness itself, and those ideas about what happiness consists in do not differentiate political parties but affect the policies of all parties. The real dividing walls, sometimes rigid and sometimes elastic, are the means and instruments for social happiness.

Working this proposition into present day political affairs in Indian democracy, we arrive at this, that the political parties now working in India would do well to clear their minds on the subject and align themselves on a rational and useful basis, and not work at cross purposes. A proper polarization is essential for parliamentary democracy to work satisfactorily. If a leader or a group around him or a party believes that he or they are the best *instruments* for the administration of the country in order to achieve the common objective, then separate activities on that basis are justifiable. Again, if the leader, group or party believes that the particular means contemplated by him or it for national prosperity and progress differ radically from the means formulated and adopted by others, then there is justification for standing and opposing the return of any others to responsibility and power. Otherwise there is no justification for standing apart. Any confusion or hesitation to give up one's own identity and merge with others, who believe approximately in the same means and instru-

ments, will only create difficulties for the electorate and produce unwanted results.

The question then is, does the P.S.P. or any other similar party working under the slogan of socialism believe in the policy of permits, licences and regulations adopted by the Congress Party, and is it prepared to tolerate the mischiefs arising therefrom? If so, such a party must set aside egotism and merge with the Congress Party. If any party is of the view that this policy of the ruling party causes more harm than good and progressively leads to the creation of monopolies for favoured individuals and groups, and by blocking free competition acts as a disincentive to productive effort, and thereby postpones real economic progress; if it is convinced that such a policy on the part of the ruling party, if permitted by the people, will give it almighty power to maintain its own rule unbroken, thus leading parliamentary democracy steadily and surely to the dictatorship of the party, then it is the clear moral duty of such a party to think clearly, put aside other considerations and help to forge a united front against the ruling party, not dissuaded by minor issues and prejudices.

This is the only course that will bring about a proper polarization. Any other attitude amounts, in effect, to aiding and abetting the ruling party's conscious or unconscious progress towards totalitarianism. Grave national considerations must lead to clear thinking and sacrifice. Prejudice and egotism are apt to mislead and turn one away from the right decision.

July 1, 1961 *Swarajya*

A CHARTER FOR ANTI-SYNTHESIS

THE reorganization of States on language basis is treated as a charter for oppression and partial disenfranchisement of people speaking any language other than that which enters into the name of the particular State. Those who were full citizens until the reorganization are being thought to have suddenly become second class and unwanted citizens. It takes very little time for a mob, which has got excited for some reason, to pick up this psychology of the local government and commit barbarities. Even in cases when State governments and State legislatures do not openly go as far as this, they nurse such notions in their minds which affect the State administrations in practice.

It is needless to say that this is a crime against national unity. The 'outsiders' in any State are a symbol of the unity of India and of the growing synthesis. The more recent the immigration, the more important is the contribution to synthesis. Far from being treated as 'outsiders', therefore, they should be treated as forerunners of a better order of things and of Indian unity and respectfully accorded fullest mental and external equality with those who speak the nominated regional language.

All States are really multilingual, as Dr. B. C. Roy says, and this misguided charter for oppression and anti-synthesis must be withdrawn and thrown into the sea. The prospects of losing votes in the general elections should not deter statesmanship from doing the right thing.

July 1, 1961 *Swarajya*

SIXTH YEAR

For five years now I have been raising my voice against the things that go on, warning against dangers shaping against us, and hoping against hope that men and Government may turn from folly and vanity to wisdom. The *Swarajya's* sixth year is also the sixth year of my protest. Khasa Subba Rao is no longer available in the flesh to pray with me, encourage, help and bless. But his spirit continues to be watch and ward over his great little journal, which symbolises and expresses the national thirst for *swatantra*, for the ending of tyranny and suppression, and for the establishment of true freedom which is the natural and straight path to the realization of man's full potentiality.

The latest victory of the Government party in Orissa marks a crisis. Democracy is in peril. The Orissa stink is enough to rouse the most sleepy among us. The scandal remains unrepudiated. If the party in office is free to perpetuate itself by being in office, and using its power during election time, if ministers, their minions and go-betweens are free to collect funds for the party chest and spend without reference to legal restrictions, and government contractors are placed at the helm of affairs, then perpetual continuance of the same party in office is certain, and democracy stands shut down.

With this crisis plainly threatening national freedom, the sixth year of the *Swarajya* begins. May every reader pray with us "*Satyam eva jayate, na anrtam*", and seek courage from the Source of all power.

July 8, 1961 *Swarajya*

AMN'T I PROSPEROUS?

In a permit-licence-raj, often it may happen that some people get a larger share in the total income of the nation than before. Individual businessmen may not only have a feeling of increased prosperity but also entertain an illusion of improved national prosperity. But a larger share to *some few*, out of a total that is smaller than what it should be under a free economy, is not a ground for preferring a permit-licence-raj. A more even and equitable share in a larger total is what a just citizen should aspire to. Industrialists and others who flourish in the sunshine of the Congress Government ought to realize this. They should look at things as they move in their own affairs. If they do this, they can easily realize how energy and enthusiasm, and even brains, play with increased activity and produce more when there is individual interest than when that is ruled out. What is true in the instances before their eyes is also true in the affairs of the nation, which are conducted beyond their ken. It is reprehensible selfishness to prefer a permit-licence regime to a free economy just because it happens to bring in, at the moment, more money to oneself. National economy and its ups and downs will ultimately react on individual affairs although there is a time lag in between.

Suppose the total earning of a community is Rs. 100, and out of this, forty persons get each Re. 1; the remaining Rs. 60 is available to be divided among the rest of the community. Suppose, instead, in a permit-licence-raj, eight favoured persons get each Rs. 5, and the remaining Rs. 60 is divided among the rest, eight persons feel that the economy has improved. But the main body of people see no difference. Again if the regulations are further tightened and six favoured individuals get Rs. 8 each, then the rich will have got richer, and the remaining Rs. 52 divided among the main body of the community will give each

somewhat less than what they were getting before. This would be so even if the total earning were Rs. 105 instead of Rs. 100. This miniature picture gives the simple arithmetic of the phenomenon of increased national income, but the rich getting richer and poor poorer, in the economy laid down by the Congress Government. And if as a result of loss of incentive, the total is reduced from Rs. 100 to Rs. 95, the fund for the general body would be only Rs. 47 and each of them would be getting definitely less than before, although each one of the favoured class would feel very well off and praise the regime.

All those whom materialist egoism has not made completely blind and deaf to what is going on around them can see how the good, though somewhat lazy, people of this land are being rapidly transformed by the policies of the Congress Government into a nation of busy intriguers, as Silvio Gesell warned long ago.

The Congress Government is exploiting the universal desire for equality of opportunity, while incessantly maintaining gross inequality through its policy of permits, licences and quotas. It is obvious that equality of opportunity issues out of the free market and open competition, and not out of favours got through party go-betweens. The two-fold strength of the Congress Party is the immaturity of the electorate and the money support of the permit-licence-quota holders to whom fat monopolies are granted. Heavy taxation is borne easily enough by the wealthy, because through higher prices it is all transferred to the poor consumers below, who bear all the weight of the direct as well as the indirect taxation.

It may take long for businessmen to realize that present money is not the most precious of their earthly possessions, and that their future is written on the wall if they pursue their present policy of making hay while the sun shines. Communism is marching forward, its chariot horses being the Congress policies of confiscation, undermining of fundamental freedoms, permits and licences, and heavy taxation.

A little self-interest, the fear of losing some small present advantage for oneself, is enough to block the large general interest from one's view. Self-interest makes man apathetic about the growing evil of Statism even as a ragged umbrella is enough to hide the great sun and keep the heat off one's head. A couple of square inches of a fan near the eyes are enough to hide the whole world. So great is the power of something near to oneself to make people fail to realize or watch with unconcern a great public evil and allow it to grow unchallenged. It is easy enough to buy peace for oneself in some way and remain content while misrule, corruption and intolerable taxation are getting into an irremovable permanent condition of life in India.

July 8, 1961 *Swarajya*

GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED QUACKERY

A Los Angeles jury awarded damages against a firm producing polio vaccine six lakh dollars to a vaccinated boy and 75,000 dollars to his mother. The boy was stricken with polio after vaccination with the firm's polio and completely paralyzed. The serum was found to have contained live polio virus.

Apart from the particular case, all these inoculations are based on the supposed efficacy of injecting a certain quantity of live viruses and bacilli into the body of healthy people, so as to accelerate the natural defence mechanism against a possible future infection. The unwisdom of the procedure is obvious to anyone who is not a professional serum man.

Quite another aspect of this case is that a court was found in America to evaluate the wrong done and give damages. Can this be expected in our country? Dare any court in India announce its opposition to scientific rashness and folly supported by Govern-

ment and give judgment against a big doctor or a powerful pharmaceutical firm? A modern form of high-class political snobbery is to bend the knee to science and its professors.

The other day a well-known doctor of medicine, who is in Parliament, expressed her opinion to me that it appeared to her now that I was right about B.C.G. and that the Government was wrong! It was a pleasant surprise. B.C.G. is a live vaccine and the idea is that the tuberculosis bacillus has been tamed in it and that it is no longer a deadly enemy but a stimulator of natural defence power. And this, although it is well accepted that an attack of tuberculosis is no defence against a second attack. Many eminent bacteriologists in America and other countries do not approve of B.C.G. vaccination. They have refused to introduce it in America. Over and above the probability that the vaccine has developed several mutations of the bacillus which may be harmful, the proferred statistical data end in a *non sequiter*; there is no proof of any benefit conferred on the people by the B.C.G. vaccination in any country. In the Indian B.C.G. campaign, against the original inaugurating doctors' definite advice, the vaccine is injected with deliberate indiscrimination in numerous 'positive' cases, acting on quantitative arguments with no scientific basis; and what is worse still, there is no follow-up whatsoever. The statistics showing the number of cases injected in India are, therefore, worthless and, as I have said more than once, if we substituted Cooum water for the B.C.G. vaccine, we would have the same statistical results as are now presented by the pro-B.C.G.-wallas. Meanwhile vested interests have grown round the B.C.G. programme; men whose living has got connected with it naturally resist any commonsense attack on B.C.G. The Government is led by persons who are afraid to oppose scientific quackery because they may be suspected of want of loyalty to science and modernity, which is the slogan of the Prime Minister.

July 8, 1961 *Swarajya*

ELECTION FUNDS FOR CONGRESS

Mr. Karaka has made research and brought the Congress election collections to public notice in the columns of the *Current*. Judged from the break-down figure given for Madras State, it seems to me Mr. Karaka has received correct information. These collections constitute a crisis in national affairs. It cannot be pretended that the Congress Party's collections are for general propaganda, or for running its offices and meeting the travelling expenses of its presidents and other office-bearers, and other such charges. The propaganda for the party is extensively done by the government departments and the Planning Commission. The entire sum, or nearly the whole, will be spent on the candidates put up by the party in the various constituencies. Twelve crores of rupees thus spent will on the average come to more than ten times the amount allowed by law to be spent on a candidate. This is in addition to what a candidate himself pays out of his pocket. The ruling party proposes to disregard and defeat the purpose of the law in this outrageous degree and manner. This, I say, on the part of the ruling party and the ministers working for that party, constitutes a grave crisis in national affairs.

The economic policy of the Government of India has been transformed into a gigantic electoral machine of the ruling party. I can take an oath on any holy book that but for the policy of permits, controls, licences and quotas, and but for the Congress Party being in office and misusing its powers in that direction, it could not possibly have collected a tenth of this amount for its election purposes, and even that would have taken five times the time to collect, besides an army of collectors, which would have consumed a substantial percentage of the collections. It must be patent to the least understanding that the ruling party has made a most un-ethical use of its position and powers.

But ethics apart, it raises this problem for those who believe in democracy, whether under these circumstances it is possible to maintain even the semblance of fair elections. The Congress Party can perpetuate itself through this money for all time. It is a grave crisis which demands consideration by all lovers of the country and of free institutions. Democracy loses all meaning, if the same group can perpetuate itself in power for all time. It can only be called a dictatorship, which, as years pass, will take on more and more of that character.

It can be argued academically that companies and individuals could refuse to donate funds if they chose and that they donate only because they approve of the party. That this is false, every giver and every Congress boss and minister who collects knows.

A crisis then faces us. Are we meekly to go down before it, and surrender and assist the cracking up of democracy? It is for all the leaders in the country in whom the freedom fire still burns, and who are silent witnesses of these things, to consider the grave situation and act promptly. Not the socalled communalism and other red-herrings but *this* is the real crisis in our affairs.

Let us remember that democracy is the golden lid which holds down physical disorders and chaos, and if that lid is off, the country will be at the mercy of violence.

I shall end this with a personal appeal to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. He and I may differ very greatly from each other in political views. We always did, as he has often said so. But our mutual regard and affection were not less on this account, and still remain unaltered. At the level of higher values, I do not believe there is any difference between us. I appeal to him to strike this ugly election fund collection down with a firm hand, confiscate the money and put it into his Relief Fund. He cannot be a passive supporter of plans to defeat the law as to the limits of election expenditure. The havoc wrought by the floods can absorb all this money. The power of the State was instru-

mental in the collection, and the State can legitimately take the money. I appeal to the Prime Minister to use his authority as the uncrowned head of the party and divert the money at once to flood relief. The party should begin with clean hands, and on level with other political parties appeal for funds on the basis of the policies for which the party stands and not utilize the ruling party's power for the purpose.

July 15, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE PUNJABI ISSUE

Master Tara Singh's contention is that his claim for a Punjabi-speaking suba in the Indian Union is consistent with the policy of reorganized boundaries followed by the Government of India all over India ; and his further contention is that the opposition to his legitimate claim by the Hindus of the present Punjab State on grounds of community is really communalism. It is not easy to refute this argument. It is, relatively speaking, a good claim—I say *relatively*, because in my view this linguistic reorganization is bad and must be undone, if we want India to be one and to progress. It should be undone, if not directly, by some indirect method which may produce the result speedily and efficiently. But, as things stand, it is impossible to say that Master Tara Singh's claim is unjust or improper. If it is argued that such reorganization as he desires is not wise in a 'border' State, it is much clearer that this kind of tension, linguistic or communal—whatever we may call it— is much more dangerous in a border State than anything we may do to pacify a claim.

Master Tara Singh has decided to go on a fast unto death for his demand. He persists, in spite of every argument against this course. It is wrong to imagine that the Andhra State was the

result of a fast unto death, or to think that history will repeat itself. History does not repeat itself in that way. The water in the river of history is continuously flowing and changing its course. What was in a certain *ghat* yesterday is not there today and what is there today will not be there tomorrow.

Masterji's fast should be a purificatory fast for a definite period, a prayerful fast that men may turn from suspicion and injustice to trust and justice. He should particularly pray that Hindu hearts may see his just and good intentions and that God may dispel suspicions and untruths.

If every Punjabi-speaking constituency votes against the Congress, and for a secular party in the next general elections, whatever may be the vote in the non-Punjabi area, the verdict will be decisive and the Punjabi suba will be a certain fact until all linguistic subas will be scrapped and a more rational system comes into being. Such a vote will achieve not only the Punjabi suba but will fell to the ground the threatening monster of money power, a monster who seeks to destroy democracy. To defeat the Congress is to strike down the Asura of Money and expose to the world his real inconsequence. It is a privilege which the Punjabi-speaking constituencies of the Punjab should not fail to exercise.

July 15, 1961 *Swarajya*

FOOD MINISTER SPEAKS OUT

Of all the misleading slogans of the Congress perhaps the most absurd is its talk about co-operative farming. If it is not deception, it is crass stupidity. Co-operative farming, whether it is compulsory or voluntary or loan-and-subsidy-tempted, amounts to collective farming, and it cannot be of any advantage to the

poor farmers concerned or to the nation, unless indeed the prc posal is to introduce mechanized farming—cost borne by th State—which may be believed (by some magic) to yield increase crops. Without mechanization, with all these presumption attached, of what earthly advantage is it to convert individua farmers into a joint body of everyone working on everybody's land? Surely it would mean official supervision of doubtful efficiency, and unwilling labour extracted from ex-owners, and a lot of idleness supplanting energetic peasant-proprietor's personal interest.

The Prime Minister once thought that the merging of holdings would dispense with bunds and boundaries, which would all be added to the area under plough, an idea which displayed gross though understandable ignorance of agriculture and which was, therefore, quickly and silently given up. The only possible advantage of collectivization of any sort would be mechanization, if that were possible. But the Food Minister of the Congress Government has spoken out against it, in London. By the bye, India is now self-sufficient 'in food production', according to the Food Minister; but, strangely, he is,—for what reason God only knows,—spending most of his time wandering among surplus-growing governments abroad.

A report from London published in *The Hindu* says that the Food Minister there declared : "I will not produce more food. The Government's policy is now to increase the production of cash crops, such as jute, tea and sugar." An *Indian Express* report says that the Food Minister was of the opinion, and stated it in an interview, that there was no chance of more land being put under cultivation in India, except at the expense of forestry. India, Mr. S. K. Patil pointed out, had the largest percentage of land in the world under cultivation. Therefore, he said, we cannot have more land under cultivation. And as for increased production on the existing farms through collectivization and mechanization, he firmly admitted that "India which has the largest assured water-supply for the largest irrigated area cannot adopt

Western methods of mechanization. It was impossible and was dangerous". The Food Minister declared: "There will be large-scale displacement as a result of extensive mechanization and India will only produce a large army of unemployed men."

It must be a matter of congratulation that the Food Minister of the Congress Government speaks the plain truth, as he sees it, to our newspaper representatives in foreign countries. On the background of these admissions, what is the policy or the ethics behind the talk of co-operation, joint farming, etc.? Are we asked to believe that farmers converted into idle receivers of petty dividends will be a source of additional wealth or increased food production? The reader should remember that every link in the above reasoning is from the Congress Food Minister's admissions and not based on *my* opinions. I hope Mr. S. K. Patil will not be disclaimed as a Swatantra fifth-columnist in the Cabinet!

But, however obvious the fallacies, the Congress Party's drive to exploit the credulous electorate through a show of vast money power and vehicles, ignoring the provisions of the election law, goes on unhampered. Neither farmers nor merchants, nor representatives of any other profession, are in the legislature to help the Congress Cabinet with advice and experience or realities. This has been rendered impossible by the new economic policy. Under the electoral law no one who has any contract with government can be permitted to go into the legislature (except through methods employed by the present Orissa Chief Minister who has got in, despite contracts), and there is no businessman or industrialist who can carry on without entering into some contract with government, because the 'public sector' is the biggest customer for the production of the 'private sector'. The welfare State of the Congress Party has produced this result by which all producers are bound to be in some contract or the other for supply to Government and, therefore, barred from entering the local or Central legislatures. The private sector stands effectively disfranchised. Government and legislation have to

be carried on only by those who have no experience or connection with production of any kind, and with the help of the monopoly holders under the favour of the Congress Party's permit-licence-raj.

I believe it was Mr. Lohia who said in his *Mankind* that there are more capitalists, Maharajas and communalists in the Congress than in all the other parties put together, including the Swatantra Party. Mr. Lohia sometimes shouts unpleasant truths.

This, apart from many other baneful effects of the permit-licence-raj. If the nation is to have good government, it is absolutely necessary to free the country from this mess. Men and women must learn to vote for those whom they ought to support with their votes, and not feel bound to give them away to those who parade their ill-gotten party wealth and official influence, offer refreshment and vehicles, and money.

All this, the Congress bosses will say is negative. "You are just opposed to what we do; what is your positive?" When one is negative to something, one is affirmative to its opposite. If one is negative to filth, one is affirmative to soap. If one is negative to loafing, one is affirmative to working. If one is negative to bunkum, one is affirmative to *satyam*. If one is negative to collectives, one is positive to peasant proprietorship and to individual attention and hard work.

July 15, 1961 *Swarajya*

PARTY-LESS DEMOCRACY

THE Congress, with the power of office and of money acquired through office, puts forward at every one of its election meetings, its 'strength' as an argument in its favour even as Ravana courted Sita in the Ashoka Vana :

नेह पश्यामि लोकेऽन्यं
  यो मे प्रतिबलो भवेत् ।
पश्य मे सुमहद्वीर्यं
  अप्रतिद्वन्द्वं आहवे ॥

I do not find any other in this world who can stand against me in battle. Look at my overwhelming and unrivalled power.

Sita did not choose to be overwhelmed by this power. The Orissa elections have disclosed the *asuric* strength of the Congress. It must open everyone's eyes to the urgency of bringing this strength to a termination, so that it may not perpetuate itself through this power and extinguish democracy. It can be done if all who abhor such an end come together.

Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan desires government without political parties. But a movement for government without political parties itself calls for a party having that objective. We are landed in a paradox. It is like the search in technology for a machine for perpetual motion without fuel.

We require a political party which will work for a government without parties. But here is a political party which has difinitely reduced party shackles to the minimum and gives maximum freedom to its members. The Swatantra Party is the answer to J.P's quest for the Holy Grail. If the Swatantra Party is supported by the people, party-less government, to the extent now feasible, is automatically brought into being.

The Congress President has declared that rebels will not be taken back into the Congress. Hinduism followed this policy and extended the same threat to those who had left or threatened to leave the fold. Once a man left Hinduism, he could never be taken back. But the folly of this attitude was realized and re-conversion became a regular programme. As a piece of intimidation, it is good enough to frighten weak spirits and hold them as prisoners. But it is poor philosophy to seek to suppress opinion by such threats, playing on the whiteness of your own men's livers.

July 15, 1961 *Swarajya*

MAJORITY AND MINORITY

THE elimination of illusions and falsehoods is a necessary condition for arriving at the proper solution of any problem of life, national or individual. Even as strict adherence to truth is necessary in all scientific investigations, and bias and prejudice are fatal, difficult problems of administration call for the elimination of untruth, the avoidance of prejudice and recognition of reality as of supreme importance : this, although there is a deal of falsehood and illusion in politics. Otherwise, all solutions will prove illusory. The language problems that now face the Government of India demand a thorough-going attachment to truth, however unpleasant it may be.

It should be realized that the quarrel is not between languages although men prefer to put it that way. Languages do not quarrel. The issues are between men, groups of men with ambitions and selfish hearts. Let us realize this fact and we shall then, if we try, be able to find the right solution. The pleas made on behalf of Hindi and the scorn flung at English, have these anything to do with the language issue ? No, it is the

ambition of Hindi-speaking leaders, their own and that on behalf of Hindi-speaking men in a lower tier. Swords and spears, and flags and flowers, and languages do not hate or love : it is the men who hate and love that carry and use those tools to satisfy their feelings of jealousy, fear, hate and love. We must get behind the misleading facade of lifeless instruments and understand and deal with the hearts of men.

Minority communities in a democratic set-up are under handicaps which cannot be ignored. Majorities are given the right to rule in the States, but they have no licence to oppress as often in their pride they seek to do. The just pain of these minorities is given a bad name, 'communalism', and is sought to be condemned as unworthy and unpatriotic.

Those of the majority community who accuse the minority groups as being communal, and club together against the latter, are worse communalists than the people who club together in defence against a sovereign majority. Clubbing together for offence is certainly more reprehensible than clubbing together for defence. To seek to deprive those who suffer, or believe they suffer, of their right to associate together in defence against an all-powerful majority is the worst form of oppression. To constantly contemplate on the image of a supposed danger and thereby becoming themselves what they oppose and dread, putting on the air of patriotism and nationalism with all power on their side, and to dub the exercise of rights guaranteed in the Constitution as being a *communal* move, this is truly adding insult to injury. Freedom consists in respecting other people's freedom besides one's own. Other people's freedom, be they weak or strong, few or numerous must be respected. Otherwise, the day will soon arrive when the many, even in one community, will disregard the freedom of the lesser number in that community, and tyranny will replace liberty.

Linguistic autonomy is itself an *avatar* of communalism. It is not the language that exercises autonomy. It is a certain

group of people, a community, who are placed on the throne and other groups of people are placed below. It gives sovereignty, limited though it may be, to one community over other communities in that area, language being an incidental, illusory screen. Autonomy based on territorial contiguity and administrative convenience would have given rise to no problems of emotional violence such as we now have to tackle. Assam is merely the acute symptom of a big error spread all over India. Let us officially and unequivocally restore English to the status which it had occupied these one hundred and fifty years. It has nothing but historic connection with the people who once ruled over us. This is the only healthy and real solution. Formulas now going about under various ministerial names are provocative of new troubles, worse than the disease sought to be treated. Stick to English and declare the *status quo* unequivocally and all will be well once again and for ever.

We cannot, we are told, undo the reorganized linguistic States. We *can* and *must*. The process may now be awkward and round-about; such as zonal clubbing and re-organized autonomy based on a new footing, but it must be done. It will help to put justice and good government on more stable foundations than on the will of the majority in one so-called linguistic area. It is the only way to restore peace and contentment, the only way to strengthen Indian democracy.

July 22, 1961 *Swarajya*

P.M.'S APPEAL TO THE SERVICES

THE Prime Minister has made a grave, earnest and in all respects a great appeal to the services. If I point out a couple of matters, it is by way of supplement, not by any means to carp.

He has said that we have arrived after fourteen years of Independence at a critical phase in our national existence. This crisis, let me urge, is a running crisis, running through, all the time, and is not new. It is a crisis of character. Thank God it gives us time and it is never too late to mend. "I appeal to all of them (referring to the governmental administrative machinery) for integrity in the public services. This is not merely an ideal to be aimed at, and thought of, but which has to be practically achieved." Now, I wish (with all respect) to point out that no preaching ever does any good if the preacher does not set the correct example. I am not referring to Mr. Nehru, but the party which he represents and which completely dominates the services at the present moment. Never before in the history of these fourteen years of Independence, and the few years of provincial autonomy, which we enjoyed before the war and which we surrendered in 1939, did the services so completely abdicate their independence, their sense of justice to party politics as they have done now. The greater is the responsibility of the party now in the matter of integrity and character in general.

I ask in all sincerity and earnestness, does the Congress Party set a good example to the servant whose independence it has completely destroyed? The party particularly at the most significant level, namely, at the level of the States, has utilized the official machinery and official power for secret and enforced collections of funds, of which the services are fully aware and which they know is not proper. The party bosses are using the chief officials for improving the party position in every way, and being educated persons they realize that it is wrong and unconstitutional and therefore dishonest, but they could not say 'no' to the omnipotent party boss. You cannot make accomplices of the bureaucratic machine in unfairness and impropriety, and in extracting money from unwilling people and appeal thereafter for exemplary honesty. How can the party chief carry conviction when he appeals with all this ugly reality which is known to every junior official and is not only a secret of top rank men?

The Madras Congress organization has decided to deploy the ministers for the Congress election campaign. "Two districts for each minister"—this is the formula. The ministers will be assisted by three or four Congress workers. Does anyone want other evidence to show how official position and power are employed for party and election purposes? Does anyone believe that official impartiality or even integrity can be maintained after such policies are declared and carried out? Why does the organization think of ministers in this connection, ministers who never were great congressmen apart from the offices they hold?

"Physician ...." There is no chance of healing others unless the healer heals himself first. The Prime Minister must bear the cross of his party. It has become a heavy one, I know. But who else is to bear it? Unfortunately, or fortunately perhaps, he is the party, and the party is he. He may be as white as an angel, but the party is black as all the world knows and feels.

One thing more and I shall close this sad sermon. We should of course work for the integration of India. 'Emotional integration', it has been called. Every integration is emotional. Let us work for it. But it is an old, old problem, nothing new. And old problems demand clear thinking and patience. Let us not bring up our old friends, castes, languages and religions, to hide our present new delinquencies. The Congress Party cannot hide its errors and current shames in a cloud of dust raised about castes and communities. "This integration problem applies," the Prime Minister says, "to linguistic differences also. It is our proud privilege to have great languages." I raise my voice to the highest pitch and loudest volume it can bear to express my concurrence with this sentiment of the Prime Minister. All our languages are great, are good, are sacred. Do not seek to elevate one of them over others. Let the official service continue to be done by English as heretofore. This is the simple key to the problem that has raised its head. Here,

too, emotion is all important. Let it be clearly and unequivocally guaranteed that English will continue as heretofore and is not merely serving probation or as a stop-gap; and then all will be well. Let no one language be raised to a sovereign level either at Delhi or elsewhere, in the many minor Delhis scattered all over India. No one hates English as an office medium. No one imagines we can get on without English as a window for light and air. Even our language quarrels are conducted in English. As we have accepted parliamentary institutions from England, let us keep English as our permanent house-keeper. She will not play us false. I have been shouting for this for the last so many years. Let it not be thought that it is a party issue. It is my earnest advice as an old and experienced citizen of India, who is not less patriotic than anyone else in this great country of ours, one who yields to none in love and respect for Indian institutions, Indian manners and customs and Indian languages.

July 22, 1961 *Swarajya*

DISPARITY IN SUGAR PRICES

What is this horrible business of selling our sugar abroad at Rs. 35 per bag, while our people have to buy it at Rs. 115 per bag? What extraordinary theories of welfare economy have brought about this strange disparity? One can understand it if our Government party preached the use of *gur* in place of sugar, as Gandhiji pleaded for khadi to replace mill-cloth and wanted all our mill-cloth to be exported abroad. It would have some meaning if we saved a manufactured commodity for selling abroad and ourselves lived a simple life discarding that commodity. But there is no such propaganda, not to speak of success in it. And why give a subsidy for this sugar export at Rs. 200 per ton on ex-factory price of Rs. 780, so that the State Trading Corporation may have the monopoly of this export

trade of sugar? This subsidy is, as every schoolboy knows or ought to know, a tax on the people of India. Must we put paddy-land under sugarcane to carry on this kind of business? We are—it has been calculated—paying Rs. 10 crores subsidy to earn Rs. 16 crores foreign exchange. This and the disparity in price between sugar sold abroad and sugar bought by our own consumers gives us a real indication of what our rupee is worth now. Our great plans and loans, and payment problems, have robbed the rupee to this extent and concealed the crime.

July 22, 1961 *Swarajya*

MR. PATNAIK'S STRANGE DEFENCE

Mr. Patnaik has ventured where his bosses feared to tread and proceeds to answer my 'charges'. He says the Congress stepped down from power (along with the other coalition party) before the mid-term elections. He, however, forgets that Mr. Nehru, his chief patron and guardian, and the rest of the Congress High Command were in office at Delhi. Without this, would he have won? A tyro can see through this argument.

No collections were made from businessmen, says Mr. Patnaik. He placed an order, he says, for 140 jeeps (never mind if the number did not include the 'stepney' jeeps kept in readiness against accidents). Wherefrom did the Congress Party or Mr. Patnaik get the Rs. 25 lakhs required for placing this lump order? Probably from his own firms and partners. We are told Mr. Ashoka Mehta or I could have got the 140 jeeps by placing an order as Mr. Patnaik himself did and that there was no hanky-panky about it. Surely no one can swallow this assertion or have the maw to digest it. Mahindras must be laughing in their sleeves at this showing of the blind eye to the rules regulating the purchase of jeeps. It is just audacity that anything has to be said loudly to pass among people as truth.

Even if Mr. Ashoka Mehta or I had the Rs. 25 lakhs to invest we could not get the jeeps as quickly, and all together, as Mr. Patnaik admits he somehow got. Yet the Swatantra Party continues still to be the 'rich man's party'! Someone has written that 'great lies are as great as great truths and constantly prevail day after day'. Still we have it on abundant authority *magnum est veritas et praevalet: satyam eva jayate.*

July 29, 1961 *Swarajya*

NUCLEAR POWER FOR EVERY STATE

IGNORANCE is at the bottom of the competitive requests from many States for atomic power plants. Dr. Bhabha has said he has no doubt nuclear power stations will be installed in all the competing States in the fourth and subsequent Plans. It is needless to point out the comparative high costs of nuclear power relative to conventional sources of power. Countries which have actually experienced with nuclear power, and have highly informed atomic energy commissions, have given an unequivocal verdict against it, taking into account present costs and future probable developments. But in 'developing' countries, accurate knowledge is also in a developing stage and ignorant demands are being made with no relation to prudence. We do not want this gigantic expenditure; we can ill afford it.

There is an old, old child's song in Tamil about a jackdaw spreading out its feathers and dancing, imagining itself to be the forest peacock. Frigates and warships, aircraft carrier and submarines, and nuclear power stations, and such like things assort ill with our payments position. Does not the world know that we are cutting, patching and cobbling all day to make both ends of our national life's haberdashery meet? Why this vanity and show?

More care on the dangerous Himalayan border, more trust and wisdom on the partition-created border, more humility and less jackdaw dances, these are what may be recommended to people as well as dictators in our developing country.

July 29, 1961 *Swarajya*

REAL DECENTRALIZATION

'PUBLIC Sector Enterprises', 'Steps to Improve Efficiency', 'New Approach', 'Too Much of Central Control not Favoured'—these are the headlines in the newspapers that indicate a new attempt being made to improve the efficiency of public-managed enterprises. A plan of 'decentralization' is being hatched. The new approach is said to be, broadly, to free the managements from the inhibitions that now result from too much Central control through rigid administrative and financial directives and rules. The inefficiency of public management is too patent to be denied. This diagnosis is accompanied by the theory that Central management is the cause of the deficiency and, therefore, if management is decentralized, the disease will be cured.

Vain thought, this. The inefficiency is due to the absence of any personal interest in those to whom the responsibility of management is entrusted. This lack of personal interest is a feature as much of local or 'decentralized' management as of Central management. Central control may mean some delay and irksome technical and financial checks and curbs. Removing these checks, curbs and delays will result in more speedy mismanagement, not in better management. Real decentralization will come about only when the State ceases to be the capitalist and the manager, and when individual ownership, responsibility and interest replace the bureaucracy's management. The idea of decentralization is a thought in the right direction, but what is real decentralization, has not been grasped.

Individual interest is the real remedy and it cannot result from mere decentralization. A hundred irresponsibilities will not be better than one centralized irresponsibility. Responsibility and efficiency issue out of the natural source of it all, viz., real personal interest, and this can be got only when the idea of improving everything by public management is given up and it is kept at the irreducible minimum, and individual interest is allowed the maximum scope.

The notoriously poor earnings of the public undertakings relative to capital will not be enhanced by what is called decentralization. There will be more wastage, more graft and more pilferage and local interests developed in these abuses.

For invention, application, economy, vigilance and efficiency in general, we must go from the circumference as far inside as possible, that is, we must reach the centre, where each works for himself and the nation. In the other way, we shall find each stealing as much as possible for himself from the nation—time, material, work, attention and everything. Decentralization, true and effective, is achieved when you go to the real centre, the man and his family. It is only then that work is free work. All other work is slave-labour, that is, work for some other, who again works for yet some other and so on, in an expanding circle of un-interested bureaucracy. The Centre at Delhi is the opposite of the real centre. It is the circumference far away from the human centre.

The jerry-built paradise called the socialist pattern is based on some kind of reasoning and takes no note of human nature. "Politics," said Burke, "ought to be adjusted not to human reasonings, but to human nature, of which reason is but a part and by no means the greatest."

Real and purposeful decentralization is done only when the State gives up regimentation and restores to the citizen what belongs to him—what Vibhishan asked Ravana to do. Until that

restoration is done, the mischief of centralization continues in one form or other. Decentralization does not consist in greater facilities being given for waste or mismanagement or larceny or laziness, with no one to watch or check. If everything belongs to the State, but the State wishes to decentralize for more efficient production, even from that angle the best form of transfer of authority is to transfer it to him who feels and thinks it is his own, who profits by invention, application and vigilance and who feels when he sweats or worries over it that he is labouring not for anyone else but for himself.

Apart altogether from the theoretical arguments about the merits of any scheme of administration of the people's economic life from a central secretariat at the metropolis, whether the scheme is sound in principle, and supported by what we know of human nature with which every scheme of governance must be necessarily linked, we have it on the authority and evidence of universally prevalent opinion that the system of controls, quotas, permits, and licences, on which such regimentation must rest, has led to widespread corruption of every form. The power to refuse or grant permission, and the power to bring everything to a standstill at any moment (for industry and business depend every moment on supplies of all sorts), must in the nature of things inevitably lead to temptation and consequent corruption of officials as well as the businessmen, and the industrialists who must deal with them. That this has happened in deplorable measure already is well known, and is not admitted more openly in official circles just because of pride and false strategy. The administrative machine which Independent India had inherited was the finest in Asia and was, in point of character, assiduity and talent, comparable with the administrative machines in Britain, America and other advanced countries of the world. We had a great tradition of loyalty to principles and courage of discussion when any important issues came up for discussion. Alas, all this is almost gone now, and I fear it is irrecoverable unless we change fundamental policies and go through a purgatory. If any scheme of administration and control of the economic life of the nation

is thus fraught with danger to character, it is a worthless scheme, whatever the mathematics or the economics of it may be. For any scheme or policy, however brilliantly conceived, to produce contemplated results, not only training and talent, but absolute integrity is a pivotal condition requisite. Where the nature of the scheme or policy itself carries the deadly poison of anti-integrity, the plan is a chimera and must be given up. Where a political party is obstinately wedded to such a scheme, the party has to be pushed out of office in the interest of national welfare.

July 29, 1961 *Swarajya*

MINISTER'S ADVICE TO D. M. K.

A minister of Madras State has reiterated at a conference the Congress Party's advice to the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam not to get into any agreement with the Swatantra Party over the coming elections. It is a curious phenomenon that the Congress should make it its business to advise its enemy about the latter's strategy—as if Hitler had been solicitous for American doctrines and advised the Americans not to join up with the Bolsheviks because their principles were greatly opposed to each other. Speaking generally, what a shrewd opponent earnestly warns you not to do is itself an indication of what you *should* do. The opponent's fears should indeed be our guiding line. Desperately depending on the split vote for its success, the Congress preaches loyalty to dogma to its opponents.

Now, the anti-socialism of the Swatantra Party, the Congress minister says, should be a bar against any arrangement between the D.M.K. and the Swatantra Party. Let us put aside the obvious motive of this advice for a moment and examine it on principle. The Swatantra Party is no doubt against the permit-licence-quota 'socialism' of the Congress Party. It is empha-

tically against this kind of socialism which creates and augments private monopolies for the benefit of the party's favourites and fund-suppliers. These private monopolies, in fact, levy additional indirect taxation on the poor. Every rupee that the Congress Party gets from the industrialists and businessmen is an investment, and is recovered with good addition by these industrialists and businessmen from the consumers. This is what I would call additional indirect taxation for party purposes. This kind of socialism need be no bar between any two parties who sincerely desire the welfare of the poor people of our land, and who seek to terminate the totalitarian march of the Congress Party. The Congress Party's socialism is a delusion and a snare.

Mr. Bhaktavatsalam may go further and plead on behalf of the D.M.K.—of whose interest he chooses to be a political protector—that the party wants Dravidanad and, therefore, should make no mutual adjustments with the Swatantra Party, the latter being an advocate of all India unity. Perhaps, he thinks it would be too absurd to go so far as that and fears that it would only expose the disingenuous intentions of all such arguments.

It is a good rule to beware of the enemy's preaching, if you are engaged in a life and death struggle. The battle against Statism and totalitarian dictatorship is a life and death struggle. Every year allowed to the enemy adds to his strength. If the creed of socialism must divide and unite people, then should not Congressmen declare friendship and merge with the communists? And make an open—what now is a hidden—unholy conspiracy?

July 29, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE LINK WITH PEASANTS

Everyone keeps talking about caste and the need for forgetting it, thereby prolonging its miserable life. We shall not go into the merits of this battle, or of the means employed and the hypocrisies and hatreds this crusade develops. We have to deal with a new and more evil-bearing caste that is rapidly developing. It is the caste evolving out of school and higher education. Whoever it may be, whatever the pupil's home-life and origin may be, once he goes to a village school and learns a little bit of the symbology of reading and writing, he becomes a non-working *neo*-Brahmin. It is only when he fails miserably to obtain some soft job and has spent the best part of his youth in vain endeavour that he re-enters the hard way of living, and carries on a frustrated and angry existence. In most instances he fails to re-adjust himself.

This new caste that is developing to the detriment of the nation is not a reason against primary or higher education. It is, however, a phenomenon of grave importance that must be taken into account when we plan and plot education for the good of the people. Particularly, it is an element of importance that should help us to formulate the curriculum of our children's education.

The Prime Minister was near the problem when he recently addressed students of an agricultural college. He deplored the absence of a proper link between the agricultural colleges and the peasants. He wanted students to cultivate the habit of manual labour and keep their hands and legs in good order, and not allow their brains to disable their bodies. But this warning will be wasted if the principle is not kept in mind at the earliest stages of education of our people. In the primary stage it is that we fatally injure our boys by mis-education. Boys born in families to whom hard manual work was the routine are

placed in schools where they are converted and forced into the new caste of labour-haters. Instead of re-organizing and reforming the present non-labouring classes, we are worsening the situation by ruining the good traditions and habits of even those who are good citizens, as they are. No amount of sermonizing, at later stages, can do any good, unless we avoid mistakes at the earliest stages.

When the present Education Minister of Madras and myself applied our minds and put forward a reformed scheme of primary education, in order to foster the readiness and aptitude for bodily labour, whatever one's literary and intellectual education may be, the communalists in the Congress made common cause with the dark forces of unadulterated communalism and smashed the project.

They ruined the chances of immediately doubling the pace of elementary education and keeping it free from the poison of bodily laziness that had become a deleterious corollary of literacy. Unwillingly, the Education Minister has suppressed and concealed his convictions so that his political career may not be imperilled. I am not writing this to blame him. What the Prime Minister said recently has furnished a reminder to what I consider to be the most important long-term issue relevant to progress and good culture.

It is not by not working that we can reach any national goal; ninety per cent of national work is bodily labour. The notion that we rise in status in the measure of our running away from bodily labour must be attacked from the earliest stage in the child's education. Even what I am now writing may be interpreted by the malicious as an attempt to maintain the monopoly of bodily laziness for certain castes. These castes are bound to perish, unless they shed that laziness. I am concerned at the spreading of that laziness among others, and want that mischief to be prevented. The function of literacy should be to add and improve work, not to replace it.

An irrelevant thought issues out of these reflections to which expression may here be given without offending much the principle of orderly presentation of ideas. Agricultural colleges should be linked to the peasants in the country, said the Prime Minister. So also should legislative assemblies and Parliament be linked to the producing organs in the country. Industries including agriculture are left unrepresented in our national assemblies. This is because politics has become a full time profession at all stages, and the producing and servicing professions are effectively excluded from it, except by way of a parasitic and dependent relationship which has more evil in it than good. In the pre-Independence days, professions that were engaged in making national wealth were duly and directly represented in the assemblies, both in the then provinces and at the Centre. Policies were examined critically when they affected those who were directly concerned in industries and agriculture. There is now no link between politics and production, except the baneful link of corruption and graft. Instead of government by discussion, we have government by intimidation and threats of liquidation of producers by non-producers and idle politicians. This is, as I have said before, irrelevant to the subject of this article, but a subject for serious thought along with other fundamental matters.

July 29, 1961 *Swarajya*

ADVERTISEMENTS ON SMOKING

It is remarkable how the tobacco interests run a successful race in advertisement literature with the scientific men's verdict and warning against cigarettes. It looks as if the lukewarmness of the bulk of the scientists is at the root of this disgraceful rout. The net result is that cancer wins, not the tobacco-kings nor science.

We have long articles appearing now in the world newspaper magazine sections, in which advantage and security of smoking only half the cigarette and throwing the rest away are lucidly explained. Thus the warning of science will, instead of reducing the sale of cigarettes, lead to an increase. Those who wish to continue smoking but who are afraid of cancer will have to *double* their purchases out of respect for science.

The conclusion is that neither science nor commonsense, nor even finance, but only fashion and snobbery govern men's conduct. It is only if there is an elite in a nation who set a good and healthy example or abstinence, and thus it becomes the hallmark of aristocracy, that men will try to rise in the ladder of status and abstain from evil things. Therefore it was that in old days in India the Brahmin caste, by its many and strict abstinences, spread good habits. The others copied them to rise in the scale of social status. But the Brahmins were displaced by the Western immigrant rulers. These became the elite and the model for copying.

After Independence, things are worse. Indians who dress, smoke, eat and drink, and speak with the accent and behave in the manner of the Western young men who occupy important commercial and technical positions in our developing economy —these are the present day Brahmins who set the fashion in all these respects. Successful Indian youths' ambition today is to smoke, talk, eat, drink, dress and behave like Western youth, never mind cancer, never mind the superiority of an abstinence culture.

August 5, 1961 *Swarajya*

AT BATTLE WITH WRONG

WHEN this issue of SWARAJYA reaches readers, the Swatantra Party will have finished its second 'First of August', the day hallowed by Lokamanya Tilak's memory every year, since forty years ago. "Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it," said our Lokamanya. Swaraj is the birthright of every citizen, and we have to save it from the expropriatory hands of a party which has arrogantly confounded itself with the State.

If the dread Tempter of semitic theology plotted to corrupt simultaneously the finest public service corps in Asia and a whole nation that had been brought up by long tradition to follow *dharma*, each individual and group in their respective walks of life, the Devil could not have devised any better plan than the socialist pattern and the permit-licence-quota scheme of economy now enforced in India.

This is not rhetoric. Promising paradise through controls, the Congress Government has contrived to sap the moral stamina of public servants by bringing them into contact with men filled with a newly encouraged hunger for making money in the shortest possible time, by buying a monopoly from the issuing officers, and thereby putting other greedy people at a disadvantage.

Each successful act of corruption feeds the appetite for greater effort in the same direction and a corps of greedy men is built up throughout the country to stand up loyally for a government that thus quickly enriches the shrewd corrupters, all the time bamboozling the poor that they are serving the cause of their uplift.

> And the Devil taking him up into an high mountain, shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time. And the Devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the

glory of them; for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will, I give it. If thou therefore will worship me, all shall be thine. And Jesus answered and said unto him, get thee behind me, Satan.

If I did not see the Devil in this scheme of contact between officials and businessmen and the issue of small and big relative monopolies going by the fanciful name of 'socialistic pattern', I would not have revolted. But when I saw a great corrupting movement set in motion and all national and individual life brought under its baneful shadow, I felt it my duty to throw away all other considerations, and revolt without a thought as to whether I shall win or lose in this battle against heavy odds. When one sees a great evil, one must fight it. Otherwise, there is no purpose in life. I am not exaggerating the corruption. I had seen the finest official cadre in Asia working splendidly, and I have seen it now ruined completely under this evil system, and in a very short time. I have seen landslides of moral standards like mountain sides toppling down during an earthquake. I have seen callousness and greed replace all traditional sensibility and restraint, all ideas of *swadharma*. My great age and varied experience have enabled me to see the changes and contrasts, and the consequent distress is great.

This is an attempt to explain why I have broken away from valuable friendships and time-honoured camaraderie, which to many is still a mystery and is cause for distress and adverse comment. The sacrifice of comradeship and affection that I have made now, giving up that precious possession, and earning displeasure and dislike in the highest quarters—these are no less a sacrifice than what I made when I was forty, and full of potential for wordly advancement, gave up my practice at the bar, grieved my aged father, withdrew my children from school and college, and went into the wilderness in 1920.

I have often thought of those days when a spirit of adventure and a passionate abhorrence of foreign rule helped one to undergo any sacrifice, when contemplating the present position

in which I have dared to raise the white star against totalitarianism and corruption. One is not helped in this battle against one's own misguided colleagues, by any youthful spirit of adventure or hatred of foreign rule. At every step there is pain at having to do it.

But should we not defend freedom, should we not defend democracy, should we not defend *dharma*? We must not allow India to be debased, mistaking mass selfishness for patriotism. We must love India and learn why we should love India. We must fight Statism, we must fight one-party rule, which has devised self-generating power to perpetuate itself, and we must stem the tide of greed and corruption. We must bring again into being a cadre of sternly honest officials to administer our affairs as was done till recently. It is a sacred duty, if there be any purpose in life and if we are not just spinning tops, spinning till death overtakes us and we go down to be re-absorbed into dead matter, fools mourning around the body that once was alive. When the morality of the nation and its elite is being undermined and threatened with destruction, there is no question of any alternative or surrender to superior force. We must fight and protect the soul of the nation from being overwhelmed and destroyed. It is the duty of each citizen to resist it to the utmost without waiting for others or counting the cost. For if the nation's morality is lost, there will be nothing thereafter to save.

August 5, 1961 *Swarajya*

DISEASE OF COMMUNALISM

THERE is a plethora of V.I.Ps' speeches and written hortatories deprecating communalism. I do not wish to add to that present-day literature which like anti-sex writing does the opposite of what it purports to do. I shall try to explain what I feel has

not been said, and which is important in this connection as well as in the field of education in our country.

Communalism is not a doctrine like other 'isms. Socialism, individualism, communism, monism, dualism, Hinduism, and a host of other 'isms are all names given to some doctrine or other to guide ways of life, government or art, and the like. But communalism is the name given to a disease, not a doctrine or dogma.

It is useful to analyse the disease without any angry or biassed mind, for passion does not help any investigation. There were castes and communities in India from time immemorial. They fought one another now and then over a temple or an offensive gesture, but did not compete with one another. The Brahmin had his occupation, the Kshatriya had his; the carpenter, the cobbler, the weaver, the barber, the potter, the smith and others had their respective work and belonged to their different castes, but did not compete with one another. There were communities and castes but no one talked of communalism.

When the British came to rule the country and became a power which could not be resisted, they began to introduce many new and useful things. Among them, primary education was one. Schools were brought into existence taking in children from all castes and communities and they were all given literacy and a kind of education from which all bodily labour was excluded. Some physical exercises formed part of the scheme of education but not labour as such, that is, muscular work for producing useful commodities. The school-going children were all converted, in the course of a generation or two, into non-working citizens. Not only the old non-producing families, but an increasing number of children from all classes, including those of artisans and agriculturists, were all schooled into a new non-working caste which looked down on manual labour of any kind as beneath its new status. With the steady advance of education which has not been shaped to include the habit of bodily labour, we have now, as a result,

a completely new caste cutting into all the old castes which have lost their original character. This new caste is solely occupied with a hunt for 'soft' jobs. With the advance of social and public life in general, many new jobs came into existence, which may be classed as 'soft'. But, naturally, soft jobs cannot go on expanding without limit, for they must be supported by wealth-producing labour which is essentially a muscular process. When the demand for soft jobs and the supply get into imbalance as they have certainly got into now (partly due to a lag in technological progress and to population increase), severe competition sets in, with its emotional adjuncts, greed, envy, jealousy, hatred, anger and all the other forms of passion, which emerge from *rajoguna* (to use the terminology of our traditional psychology). Soft jobs have multiplied abundantly, thanks to the centralized and bureaucratic system of administration, and they are still proliferating to the great satisfaction of soft job hunters, but this is not enough to meet the demand, and the envy and hatred are, therefore, on the increase.

A new group of very soft jobs has come into being. These may be called political jobs including every assignment that carries salary or allowances, or power or influence, or status or anything else, which gives the means for emotional satisfaction and opportunity for making up for material wants without bodily labour. The competition for these political jobs is keen. The passions arising out of this rivalry form a new disease, to which the name of 'communalism' is given by those who find it a hindrance in carrying out their own plans.

So when any reformer or philosopher or statesman or minister talks of emotional or national integration to meet this communalism, it is not enough to spout anger against old institutions. The real mischief-maker is a new institution which has come into being without consulting our old social law-givers—the soft job institution. Dislike not associated with competition is one thing. But the antagonism associated with competition is a life and death affair, and that is what we have to deal with when we talk of communalism. Love of one's kin and kind is

not a sin or bad in any way for the nation. It would be the basis for a decentralized form of non-Statist socialism. It is competition for soft jobs that makes communalism; and among the 'best' soft jobs are seats in legislative assemblies or second chambers or corporations, or other positions equally soft and rich with political potential which in democracy carries enormous material value.

August 5, 1961 *Swarajya*

WHY I BELIEVE IN CLASSICS

Classics are literary works that have attained the highest standards of quality. They are generally old works which are thus classified. This is because recent works have not had time to pass the test—not that inspiration is no longer the source of the life-breath of modern authors.

Once a departed friend of mine and myself were going over the ruins of a very famous old temple. We were on the terrace, when I said to my friend that our ancients knew how to make such remarkably good cement as what we saw in that ruin and commented that it seemed skill of that kind had deteriorated these days. My friend came of an engineering family. He laughed at my observation and told me that old mortar was good because it was old, and that properly mixed modern mortar, too, would set and become as strong as the mortar in the old ruins, if we lived to see it after a century or two. The composition gets harder and harder as time passes, he explained, and so we admire very old buildings. Bad quality constructions disappear and do not come to view at all.

Something like this happens to literary works also. Writings of no value or of poor quality disappeared, specially under the conditions that prevailed in the old days, when keeping books

was difficult. Some writings have great immediate vogue, but soon find their level and disappear. But as the centuries pass, the best writings survive and show their great quality. These are classics.

The lives of people are shaped by such writings. Ideas of right and wrong are greatly shaped by what great writers and poets have written and sung. Our very measuring standards of literary merit are formed on the basis of such writings. So the classics become *set* as classics, as old mortar *sets* and shows marble-like hardness. Quality survives and the survival itself enhances its quality. My friend's exposition of good lime-mortar holds good for classic writings also. If Valmiki, Vyasa, Tulsidas, Kalidasa, Kamban, Shakespeare, Milton and the authorized version of the English *Bible* are classics, it is not only because they are of the highest quality but also because we have built our own minds, so to speak, out of those classics. There is nothing so good to nourish life as the material that has gone to build that life.

I therefore believe in classics. Not that we do not want new writings. But new writings are new writings and classics are a class apart. They sit guard over new writings, vigilantly watching quality. Classics give us perpetual intellectual pleasure re-uniting us with the great souls of the past; when we read them, they occupy us to the exclusion of the present times, and give us serenity; they elevate our very souls. They guard us against vanity, and all other evils. That is why the Sikhs worship the *Book;* why the Muslims revere the *Koran.* So also the Hindus do homage to the *Ramayana* on Saraswati Pooja Day and the Christians treat the family *Bible* as a precious inheritance. They are all the unbroken voice of God, the eternal Watchman and Friend.

August 5, 1961 *Swarajya*

[This is the text of a broadcast talk recently given by Rajaji over the AIR, Madras]

SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

THE way to obtain a vision of the Divine Presence is not by discussion, by learning or through the intellect, but only through Bhakti, that is by appealing to God Himself through prayer. The *Katha* Upanishad says :

नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन ।

Let us not confound scholarship in the *Gita* or other scriptures with piety or religion. One can be a very good Sanskrit scholar, can study and be an adept in all great Sri Sankaracharya's writings, but still be far from religion or the pious life. We can teach a monkey to play a number of tricks skilfully and well. But though dressed in pants and coat and turban or hat and though doing things just like a gentleman, perhaps sometimes even better than a gentleman, the monkey is still a monkey. There is no real and full integration between the thing done, the external, and the mind that brings it about. The monkey does it all not because it knows it is good, but because it is compelled to do it and has learnt it. One's external equipment and learning may be all just that of a religious man, but the question is whether your mind is devoted to God apart from learning.

If in the mind there is no piety and no love of God, any amount of Sanskrit scholarship just amounts to the clever tricks of a monkey, and is not true religion. Do you wish to be pious or do you wish to be only a good scholar ? The former makes for the grace of God, makes you good. The latter makes only for pedantry to feed ambition or to satisfy some other lower instinct. That is why the Rshi said : "Not by disquisitions, not by keenness of intellect, or by much learning can you see God, but only when your heart truly yearns for the vision of God and you obtain His grace". We have many scholars and philo-

sophers. But what we want is that we should be good and pious men.

We have many problems facing us in our new life as a nation. There is great need for reviving moral and spiritual values and developing afresh internal sanctions for good conduct as distinguished from external regulations. "We should seek a renewal of the spiritual life as a solution to many of the problems which plague us today," said Mr. Truman when he was President of the United States.

In industry and commerce, and in other lines of public service we require truly religious men. Let us not read the scriptures for display of learning, but turn our minds to God. Wherever we are, whatever we are doing, we are in the presence of God who is Father and Mother to us all. Let us give that Great Father-Mother our love.

Let us do nothing that our Mother will be sad or ashamed about.

Whatever work we may be doing, let us remember God all along. This is the lesson of the *Gita*.

Practising the presence of God is Yoga. Brother Lawrence, a cook in a Carmelite monastery, was the first to use this phrase of the 'practice of the presence of God'. He wrote no book. Exalted personages came from afar to the monastery with the single purpose of having a talk with that cook ! They have left some notes of conversation from which it appears that Brother Lawrence had in his experience found that the best method of worship and prayer was that of doing the common business of the day without any view of pleasing men, but in the knowledge of God's companionship in every task however mean or common. He said that it was a great delusion to think that the time for prayer ought to be separately set aside. The time devoted to the work of the day was also the time for prayer and remembrance of God. This is indeed what the *Gita*

teaches as the way of doing all work and making it an act of worship as well as work. Let every task be done in company with Him. What better fellow-worker can we have than the loving Being who is ever with us if only we desire that company? "O, my poor heart," sang the Aalwaar. "Do not be downcast, the Best Friend is always by you. Those that want Him have him at call. He that lies on the Cosmic Ocean, He who is worshipped in the temple on the Venkata Hills, He dwells indeed in the heart of man."

One may ask : "What you say is all right. But is there God? May we pray thus—O God, if there be a God, save my soul, if I have a soul?"

Take a tamarind seed or the tiny seeds of a *papaya* fruit or the still tinier seed of an *amrod* fruit. In that insignificant looking little thing is encased something mysterious. Put the seed in the moist earth. It sprouts and grows and becomes the big *amrod* or tamarind or other tree with all its spreading branches, leaves, flowers and fruits with the flavour and all the qualities of shape, colour and substance appertaining to it. All this is packed into the tiny seed with absolutely insured perfection.

Take the egg of a hen. Break it and see what there is in it—a sticky fluid with a little yellow part. You see nothing particular in it. Yet the egg, kept warm for a few days under proper conditions provided by the mother-bird brooding over it or in an artificial incubator, out emerges a living, moving thing which grows with wings and feathers, the colour, manners and voice of the bird to which it belongs. How does all this happen as if to order? Take the microscope and examine the fluid in the egg. You will see nothing of the peacock or the parrot in it. Yet it knows exactly what to become and it becomes that.

All this is wonderful. And if we knew what is in a mother's womb where the human egg is laid and protected from harm, we

could see that a tiny bit of living matter, no bigger than a pin-head is that out of which this wonderful being, man, comes to be, with all his organs and his most marvellous memory and knowing mind. All this most wonderful potentiality was carefully packed and encased in that little human egg which was only as small as a full-stop in a printed page.

If in school and college we learnt not only to read and to compute but were also trained how to think and marvel at all this that goes on without fuss or jolt, quietly, sweetly, harmoniously as a song is sung, then we prepare ourselves for true religion and ordered reverential life. Science is not the enemy of religion but a preparation for it.

Science 'explains' all these wonders, that is, puts things in proper order of cause and sequence up to a point. When we proceed to examine the fundamentals of things and go deep down in that examination, we go beyond science into the region of metaphysics. The border line between science and religion is what we call metaphysics. Metaphysics is mainly negative. It furnishes the reason—why—for religion.

The great advance of science fills up the territory of science with more and more known points; but this does not take us across the border. If we take up any book of physics, we find the preliminary chapters giving some definitions which students commit to memory. The words used are simple, but it is not easy to understand the full meaning of those definitions. This is because these deal with things on the border line. What is 'cause' and what is 'effect'? What is a 'law' in science? These seem to be pretty simple, but really are not so easy to grasp as they appear. Physical phenomena follow certain sequences. These sequences are set out by men of science as a result of numerous observations, observations being planned for the purpose. Planned observations are called experiments.

Supposing you observe a number of cricket matches. Suppose you have no book setting out the rules of the game and you know

nothing about how it all goes on. You simply observe what takes place in a series of cricket matches. You see the players coming in and going out when something happens. You see the figures on the score-board changing from time to time. You see at the end of the game congratulations and excitement. If you observed numerous matches and noted all the events accurately in the order in which they took place, you could find out the rules of the game even though you did not have anyone to tell you the rules. When you discover the rules by such a process, you are a scientist.

Nature's game is played in a particular way and according to rules which are not published first. No one knows how it all came about. No club organized it. Scientists observe hundreds and thousands of events and make out a fairly accurate list of sequences or 'laws' as a result of analysis of their observations. This is what we call discovery of the laws of nature.

Imagine someone suddenly brought into the world of cricket without any information given to him of how the game is organized by clubs and associations. He would think that when a ball hits the wicket, a player goes back to the pavilion. One is called the cause and the other the effect. Again, if a ball is caught by someone the player goes to the pavilion. This is also another cause-and-effect phenomenon. You can imagine a savage thinking in this way until he feels he knows all about the game.

Pass on from cricket to the world of nature. Men of science have seen and recorded causes and effects. After laborious observation and experiment and careful analysis, they have put down many rules according to which these events take place. The catalogue of sequences or causes and effects, that is, the series of laws of nature discovered by men of science closely resembles a very intelligent guess of the rules of the game of cricket made by observation of a number of matches. The sequences observed by scientists are simplified and yet more

simplified. The greater the simplification of the code of science, the greater the joy and satisfaction of the scientist. But all the same they are just classified observations, says the metaphysician. They do not *explain*. The Organizer and Conductor of the game of nature is not available for questioning. Hence we get to fancy that the game goes on by itself and we deny His very existence.

Let us now read a few slokas from Chapter IX of the *Bhagavad Gita:*

मया ततमिदं सर्वं जगदव्यक्तमूर्तिना ।
मत्स्थानि सर्वभूतानि न चाहं तेष्ववस्थितः ॥

All this world is pervaded by Me in form unmanifest;
all beings abide in Me, but I stand apart from them. (IX-4)

न च मत्स्थानि भूतानि पश्य मे योगमैश्वरम् ।
भूतभृन्न च भूतस्थो ममात्मा भूतभावनः ॥

And yet beings are not rooted in Me. Behold the scheme of My sovereignty, Myself, the origin and the sustainer of beings, yet standing apart from them.

प्रकृतिं स्वामवष्टभ्य विसृजामि पुनः पुनः ।
भूतग्राममिमं कृत्स्नमवशं प्रकृतेर्वशात् ॥

Using Nature which is Mine own, I create, again and again, all this multitude of beings dependent on and bound by Nature. (IX-8)

मयाध्यक्षेण प्रकृतिः सूयते सचराचरम् ।
हेतुनानेन कौन्तेय जगद्विपरिवर्तते ॥

Under My over-seeing eye, Nature brings forth the moving and the unmoving and keeps the world rolling on (IX-10)

The Supreme Power has arranged things so that they go on by themselves. He need not intervene. He has transferred all

power to the things themselves. It is a grand and perfect scheme of decentralization. He is ever working and yet He is not seen to be working. The machinery works by itself once it it started. We that observe and are curious, sceptical or credulous, we too are all parts of this great machine. We cannot get out of it and look through the windows into the Engineer's residence or workshop. This is the predicament of man who is himself the most wonderful part of the universe. It is not surprising, therefore that some men say the machine is all automatic and there is nothing else, that there is no Engineer. The very smoothness and efficiency of the working of the machine leads to this notion.

The *Chaandogya* Upanishad is a very old scripture and one that may be classed among the greatest books of the ancient world :

सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयं
तद्धैक [redacted]दमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयं
तस्माद[redacted]सज्जायत ॥

[redacted]The Real existed in the beginning alone and by [redacted]world came out of It. About this others say : [redacted] the [redacted]nning there was a void and nothing else; from [redacted] void [redacted] produced the world. (*Chaandogya, Adhyaaya* VI, [redacted]*haanda* [redacted]*ntra* 1).

[redacted] स्योम्यैवं स्यादिति होवाच कथमसतः
स[redacted]ात सत्त्वेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयम् ॥

[redacted] that could not be, said the Rshi.

[redacted]om nothing could come something? It is not possible. [redacted]re, in the beginning was God, all by Himself, out of [redacted]e all else. (*Mantra* 2).

"[redacted] can come out of nothing," says the Rshi to his pupil. [redacted] round and see this vast universe. See specially man [redacted] mind. Can all this simply come out of nothing and

run on by itself? How could anything come out of nothing? All these must have issued out of something that transcends the qualities of what we see."

The thinkers of our land conceived from very early times what may be called the process of evolution. They saw by intuition that the multiplicity of phenomena in the universe could result out of evolution from simple origins. But they also saw that the process of evolution by itself could not do away with the need for the basic Power and Primary Origin, however simple it might be. *Sat* cannot come out of *Asat*. *Sat* could come only out of *Sat*.

The name of Darwin is well-known. He was a saint among scientists. He was not only a great and industrious man of science but a very good man, one who was respected for his integrity and saint-like character as much as for his genius and industry. He and some others of his time worked out a theory of evolution to explain how the numerous forms of life that can be observed in the world came to exist, that is to say, how the various species of life among plants, insects, birds, fish and animals came to be. The theory is that one variety grows out of another variety and thus the innumerable species of life come to exist. This theory eliminated the belief that God created man and all other varieties of life together as set out in the first chapter of the Old Testament of the *Bible*. Naturally all the orthodox Christians in the Western world condemned these speculations as irreligious. In India however the teachers of religion and philosophy from time immemorial assumed that God worked through evolution. In India the theory of evolution, as the Indian philosophers conceived it, did not dispute God.

Take for granted that a variety of a certain plant has come to exist. By some accident or unknown reason, the plant puts forth leaves of a slightly different shape from the leaves of its parent. This variation helps to absorb more of sunlight in the circumstances in which the plant grows and thereby this variety flourishes better and multiplies. Hence a new variety of the

plant comes to exist. This illustrates the origin and conservation of a new species by survival. Variations occurred in plant and animal life and being fitter for survival in the conditions prevailing, these variations flourished and multiplied. This is how innumerable species came to exist in the world and are still being formed. This is the theory going by the name, Evolution.

We all know that the characteristics of the parent are transmitted to the offspring, but occasionally a variation is exhibited. If this variation happens to assist its survival in the struggle for nutrition and existence, the variation is made permanent and becomes a basis for a new variety. This is the theory of automatic evolution of species by survival. This theory was so amply demonstrated and so beautifully explained that science swore by it and considered it as a New Bible. I do not say that this is wrong. I only wish to point out that the theory of evolution does not solve the mystery of the universe, but only bypasses it.

How did life start out of dead matter? Lifeless inorganic matter is something different from a living cell that grows and builds itself from its surroundings, multiplies and lives, so to say, immortally. The origin of the living cell somehow is assumed. Out of that we can theorize and build up the rest of the living world by a theory of evolution. Again although the main plank of the theory of evolution is the principle of heredity, of the transfer of characteristics from parent to offspring, both in plants and animals, the other equally essential basis in the evolutionary theory is the inexplicable occurrence of variations contrary to the hereditary principle. On this occurrence of variations and their fitness for survival rests the origin of species as expounded by Darwin. The occurrence of a variation almost as if nature desired to produce a new species is a mystery unexplained by that theory. Thus the theory of natural selection just bypasses the mystery of life.

We push the unknown into two corners, (1) the occurrence of life out of non-life, (2) the occurrence of variations to give

the start to a favourable condition for the evolution of a new species. I have said all this to show that despite the most fascinating advance made by science, the mystery of life still remains a mystery.

As they have split the atom and almost demonstrated that it consists only of energy and nothing else, so they may one day succeed in splitting the living cell and discover what goes to make life. Science may then claim that the secret of the evolution of life out of dead matter has been unveiled. But even then, the unknown Power behind what is seen must remain unknown, as unknown as ever before.

"Dear boy, this wonderful world could not be born just out of nothing. *Asat* cannot produce *Sat*. *Sat* alone can produce *Sat*. Therefore believe." So said the Rshi in *Chaandogya* Upanishad. That truth holds even now. We should not be confused by the brilliance of scientific discoveries into thinking that God is negatived thereby. All these great wonders must come out of something more wonderful. And that is God. This simple process of reasoning, as old as man himself and on which is founded all religion, is still valid.

The discoveries of science and our increased knowledge of the material world are no answers to the call of religion. There is behind the world of material phenomena a Mystery that calls for awe and reverence and faith as distinguished from inquiry. Man's attitude towards this mystery that hides behind the phenomenal world is what is called Religion. As a corollary to that attitude, all religions lay down the way of life for their respective followers and human society has held together as a result of the loyalty of men to the ways of life dictated by various religions.

The Upanishads and the *Gita* contain the way of life which by tradition has been accepted by the people of India.

What does the *Gita* teach us ? Every moment, our thoughts and our activities shape our future. As a result of each thought

which we entertain and dwell on, and each act we commit, we become pure or impure, good or bad, more and more restrained and capable of self-control, or less and less so and slaves of evil urges. Every moment we shape our character as a goldsmith shapes his jewels on the anvil, each stroke of his hammer corresponding to each thought, word and act of ours. Therefore it follows that by self-control, enlightened thought and action we can free our souls from evil and improve ourselves. The *Gita* tells us how to do it. Yoga is the name given in the *Gita* to efforts at self-improvement.

Yoga is not tricks done with our muscles or our breath or exhibitions of physical skill and practice. Yoga is the effort to purify our character. Yoga is the general name given to those mental operations which we should practise in order to make the mind clean and remain pure without difficulty.

What are these efforts? (1) Do your allotted duties properly and unselfishly. Duties come to you by reason of your fitness, by your place in society or by accident. Do always what is good for others. Hesitate when what you do is for your own good, and consider whether it is good for others around you. (2) Do not be disturbed by success or defeat. Think of God Who guides and orders everything and Who alone knows what is ultimately good. Remember that others are as much children of the Universal Mother as you are. (3) Keep your senses of pleasure under control. Regulate your daily routine so that the purity of your mind is not disturbed. (4) Always remember that the mind is the chief fortress. If you let it go, you lose the battle. Impure or selfish thoughts hand over the mind-fort to the enemy. (5) Periodically meditate on God and surrender yourself to the Father-Mother.

You may often fail in these efforts. But every effort adds strength to your soul. These efforts are to the soul what physical exercise is to the body. You may not see immediate results, but they strengthen the soul.

This is the teaching of the *Gita*. It is not a book for study and examination as a text-book. It is a book that tells men how to regulate their activities and their minds. It is like a railway guide. It is a guide-book for the journey of life. We should travel with its help, not commit it to memory. Merely committing it to memory will not enable us to reach the journey's end.

August 6, 1961 *Bhavan's Journal*

COMMON MAN PAYS IT IN BLOOD

CONCENTRATED attention on the repayment of our foreign loans is the present slogan. And it is right. The cry is, however, worded commercially so as to avoid the evil smell of bankruptcy. It is concentration on the 'promotion of exports'. The hope is that we raise exports not only to keep the difficult current payments position going but also to save enough, to clear some day the Himalayan sum of borrowings from the West. Our exports to Asian countries do not help in this. We must undersell in Europe and America. We have been clearly warned to expect higher prices for all commodities for buyers in India—for *all* commodities, because one can't pay higher for certain commodities and sell one's things at the same old prices. It means a rise in all prices and also many, many more curbs and controls and prohibitions in the internal market which again necessarily involve scarcity and more extended blackmarketing, as we have been authoritatively warned. Competition in the export market certainly means selling at rates below the rising cost of production in India, which means fresh direct taxation and heavier indirect taxation. Let us remember that all finance is produced by the suffering people and not by the Finance Minister or the Congress Party, whatever may be the illusions created. The party issues

pamphlets, thought to be cleverly written, defending the borrowing from abroad and the printing of currency at Nasik. These modern imitators of good old Mohamed Bin Tughlak, the genius who printed leather money, these modern Tughlaks do not produce real money at their press. The shadow money that they pump into the economy are advances taken from enhanced prices of all articles in the Indian market, so that the common folk who buy what they need to carry on, so as to keep their children alive, pay the exact amount of the printed money and more through the prices they pay for everything : and prices are minted out of sweat and tears. Thus are our foreign loans to be repaid. Wishful planning not based on resources and proper credit founded on export potentiality as good businessmen would plan, but based on mere cold war conditions—this has led to this terrible result. The castles in the air ridiculed in the fables cost only a little physical jolt or dislocation when the dreamer wakes up; but the cloud castles our Government has been diligently building have cost a great deal of debt, with consequent real national misfortune and misery.

These castles in the air are not even well-built shadow castles, but are jerry-built. They are indeed a challenge to all of us, as the P.M. has said. He is sure it is going to be met by the people of India. Yes, they will meet it because they are helpless. They will pay through the nose for it. For until a man dies, there is blood in him that can be squeezed out directly and indirectly. It is not the industrialists that pay taxes. It is the people who buy from the industrialists who pay both what the government takes from the industrialists and the businessmen, and what their greed and their fears of disfavour and oppression make them pay to the political party behind the Government. The ultimate cashier is the common man, who pays in blood and tears for all the other people's payments, by way of taxes and for socalled donations to party funds. To expect repayment of foreign loans by a supreme effort, at increased exports, is like a householder hoping to repay old family debts, when he is unable to meet even his own daily bills.

The challenge must be met—by voting against a party which has deceived and corrupted the people, and which has forgotten its duty to care for the welfare of the people, in its hunger for perpetuating itself in power.

August 12, 1961 *Swarajya*

EMINENT ECONOMISTS' ADVICE

I wish all men, voters and rulers and their disinterested admirers as well as their supporting licence and permit holders, pondered a little over what Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, U.S. Ambassador to India, recently said at a meeting in Calcutta. His advice and warning should carry some weight, even if what I have been writing and saying so much to the displeasure of my old comrades in the Congress should come to naught. The eminent Ambassador unequivocally expressed his adverse views about borrowing technology and capital from abroad and our trying to plant in our country the Western pattern of advanced industrialization. Surely Prof. Galbraith is not a suborned witness for the Swatantra Party ! Nor can his advice so seriously tendered be brushed aside as coming from an ill-informed or biassed stranger.

"Borrowing is no substitute for earning by exports," he said. Arithmetical budget-makers working in the secretariats eager to help ministers with what they like are making just this mistake which Prof. Galbraith deprecates. "I venture to think," he said, "that any friend of India will view with some concern the rather uninspiring behaviour of Indian exports in the last five years." The genius of English idiom is under-statement. The American Ambassador could not properly use stronger language than this to point out the running error in the Plan policy.

Aid, however generous, Prof. Galbraith said, cannot be a substitute for the independence and self-confidence that actual achievement in production and export gives. National advance depends on this confidence. The psychology produced by unendingly begging for aid retards national advance.

Prof. Galbraith pointed out that much of the technology of the West represents an accommodation to labour shortage or other special requirements of those countries. Professor Galbraith was clear in his opinion that these labour-saving technologies should not be taken over by countries whose resources are too scarce to be invested in costly equipment, and should be saved for other and immediately necessary purposes. On the other hand, India's labour resource is not in deficit but is bulging in unemployment, and on that background labour-saving devices have no meaning and are harmful. Surprisingly (or perhaps not surprisingly) the Professor agreed with socalled old-fashioned people in India, who still insist on the use of the potential of manual labour so abundantly available in preference to buying modern machinery from abroad devised to meet labour shortage in those countries. It is principally the exhibitionary complex and ambition to finish the execution of grand schemes quickly, and secure spectacular effects, that prompt importing of Western labour-and-time-saving equipment and technology, when traditional manual labour could do the same things, though it may take a great deal more of time. In this, our rulers are not inclined to copy or learn from the example of China. Tempted by a desire to see things completed "in one's own life-time" and to have opening ceremonies and publicity campaigns, costly technology is paid for and the nation is made to sign to enormous debts incurred on that account. If we could discharge the debts, that is, if we had capacity for earning enough by our exports to meet the obligations so incurred, one could understand the thing. But there is neither need for such extravagance nor hope of discharging the debts involved. And worst result of all, our unemployment problems are only aggravated. Many institutions and services which we seek to esta-

blish in India in imitation of Western countries, are "luxuries which developing nations can ill afford". (I have used Prof. Galbraith's own words.) The eminent American Ambassador has done valuable service in speaking out so frankly instead of indulging in the usual pleasant remarks about the Government's achievement which foreign visitors think it is their proper duty to make.

Another eminent economist's remarks made at Istanbul in 1955 offers equally strong support to the Swatantra Party's position as to the inefficiency and evil results of government undertaking industries which private enterprise is prepared to take up. Mr. Eugene Black, Chairman of the World Bank, said in the course of that speech what needs no comment to show its appositeness to our affairs :

"And even in cases where a government may go so far as to start an industrial enterprise, I think every effort should be made to put the venture into the hands of private capital and private management as quickly as possible. For rare exceptions do not disprove the often illustrated rule that it is not in the nature of government to act with the flexibility or the attention to business considerations that is required of good industrial management. And—successful or not—so long as the enterprise stays in government hands, it does not stimulate the growth of similar enterprises, because private investors who could finance them are not willing to try to compete with government. The net result of these State ventures, more often than not, is to restrict the growth of production—or, in other words, to defeat the very purpose they seek."

August 12, 1961 *Swarajya*

PROF. GALBRAITH'S WISE COUNSEL

"IN much of our present planning," says Prof. Galbraith, "we set targets for visible physical accomplishment. This is probably the easiest and certainly the smallest part of the task. Targets are equally practicable for managerial performance, labour productivity, costs and returns. It is of the greatest importance that a modern development plan be as complete in respect of these goals as any other." This is a general remark. But what he considers to be of major importance to which he gives the name of 'invisible' achievement is just what the government concerns of our 'public sector' grievously and continuously fail to accomplish. Again, Professor Galbraith remarks, rather caustically and topically : "Cheap bicycles are more important than cheap automobiles. An inexpensive electric lighting system for the villages is better than a high-capacity system which calls for equipment the people cannot afford". Finally the eminent Professor says : "The distinction between a planned and unplanned economy has little meaning. The economy of the U.S.A. which believed in free enterprise is 'planned' to a greater extent than that of India which is committed to a socialist pattern of society".

This must be terribly unpleasant in the ears of the powers that be in India. Here is an American gadfly that occasionally stings usefully, while paying the usual polite and sweet diplomatic congratulations.

August 12, 1961 *Swarajya*

MOVEMENT AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS

It is gratifying to read that Mr. Frank Cousins of the Transport and General Workers' Union of England is again at it, and taking steps to push forward the policy of unilateral action in respect of eliminating nuclear weapons. It once looked as if the British Labour Party had lost itself in ambiguities, and in effect giving up the struggle.

This movement against nuclear weapons being based on moral grounds cannot be given up for any reasons based on the argument that "the other fellow has it". This argument leads to a vicious circle that can never be cut and to world disaster sooner or later. The only solution for any malady which has taken the form of a malignant vicious circle is unilateral action. This is the undiscovered lesson of all human experience. It is not a minor or an individual welfare issue, but one that involves the welfare of all mankind and civilization, the only answer to the evil that menaces civilization being unilateral action. The mounting danger that threatens the world now calls for supreme courage even as Hitler's lunacy and evil power called for supreme courage twenty-two years ago. Today the courage called for is the courage for unilateral action. I hope there are some few in Britain and America who will lead their respective nations to this great form of courage which will as surely lead to victory in the moral field as Churchill's leadership in war did in the defence of liberty against Hitler. In spite of every seeming impossibility, unilateral action being the only remedy, it must be taken. There is no greater form of courage, no greater valour, no greater adventure in the pursuit of civilization and happiness, no nobler proof of manliness in the face of the present menace than to take unilateral action. The first step in it will bring about moral and spiritual results which will convince all doubters, and demonstrate that what seems impossible can by supreme courage be proved to be utterly practical.

August 12, 1961 *Swarajya*

THREAT TO HANDLOOMS

This is not a parochial outburst, but only a piece of factual observation of some importance. Whenever you move in towns and cities in Madras and Kerala you see women, men, donkeys and carts carrying loads of clothes collected for washing such as you can see nowhere else in India. All this is good for civilization as well as for the textile trade, for much washing means more buying.

The mill textile is eroding the ground from under the dear old handloom and still continuing its destructive process, but the weaver is manfully defending his position. The dhobi is his friend, for mill cloth can never stand the continuous washing which the handloom product can bear—and people know it. The cottage weaver in the South is able to stand the attack of the power-looms because here men, and more particularly the women, have not lost all taste. The Government could easily come to his aid but it has strangely refused to do it and covers its partiality for the wealthy mill-owners with a number of devices looking like aid to the handloom, but which go really to benefit the master-hands that manipulate what is called co-operation, leaving the individual self-dependent artisan in want and distress and debt.

The power-fed mill cloth threatens soon to envelop the handloom in its destroying flames, and those who realize the significance of the immense population depending on the handloom and only the handloom, and the greater reality of men and families relative to the meaninglessness of mere commodity, must soon accept the wise policy put in the mouth of Hanuman : "Inadvertence is unwise in respect of a growing fire."

Whether the weaving families realize it or not, whether they vote for the Swatantra Party or not, this party is pledged by its fundamental principle to support this large and ancient popula-

tion with an unknown record and tradition of self-dependence and hard work, who are spread all over this vast continent, in towns and villages, including Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and every other community, living an honest independent life, putting no kind of burden or strain on the State for carrying on their occupation.

August 12, 1961 *Swarajya*

STATE TRADING IN CEMENT

While the net profits of the Cement Industry and the Associated Cement Companies were going down year after year, the Government of India was making high profits by State trading in cement, said Mr. N. Dandekar, Managing Director of the A.C.C. in Bombay, at the public inquiry by the Tariff Commission into the question of the revision of cement prices. The Government has harvested a net profit of Rs. 13 crores in less than four years.

And the Government has made all this in addition to taxation without contributing in any way to the production of cement. Let us never forget all this profit the S.T.C. has made goes into the price the consumer pays for an almost essential element in the construction of even the lower middle class houses. State trading began with the promise of making things easier for the consumers. People's memories are terribly short and rulers of democracy can with impunity commit greater crimes than any Maharaja or Sultan of ancient times could. Even public disapprobation becomes inarticulate, provided money is liberally spent by the party in power at general elections out of funds collected from its 'welfare State' victims.

And so a particular party recruiting itself with power-hungry men, year after year, and generating for itself strength from the

strength of the State, will go on reigning for ever. Wise men who love real democracy must say

न वर्धमानोऽग्निरुपेक्षितुं क्षमः

. It is not wise to be indifferent about a growing fire. It will be beyond control later on. And yet some feed that fire with their own fuel.

August 12, 1961 *Swarajya*

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

It is an honour to be called upon by *The Illustrated Weekly of India* to write about the future of parliamentary democracy in India. I do not wish to attempt any prognosis or pose as a prophet. The future of parliamentary democracy, as of any other institution resting on popular confidence, depends more on the justice, fair-mindedness and efficiency of those who work the administration under it than any other single factor. The popular acceptance of that work as good and beneficial gives durability to parliamentary democracy more than any academic element. The work of any institution, again, depends on the character and the policies of the individuals who happen to be continually in charge of it.

The future of parliamentary democracy in India therefore depends on how it is being run by the Congress Party which has been managing it ever since it began and which is collecting a vast sum from the industrialists and the commercial community to spend in the forthcoming elections in order to extend its tenure unbroken. The Congress Party holds in its hands the key to the life of parliamentary democracy in India. It can so conduct itself that it becomes a sham or acquires a bad name, and thereby destroy faith in the institution—and this may be done without intending it, and as a result of what may be called party egotism.

Any prognostication on the general and abstract question of the future of parliamentary democracy in India has to be based on the present policies and tendencies of the Congress Party and is therefore likely to be misunderstood as propaganda. There are, no doubt, certain aspects of the question which can be treated from a non-party angle and almost academically, but even this is not easy.

The first most striking feature in the present situation is the policy of preparing and committing the nation to long-term expenditure and liabilities. The Plans that are incessantly forced on the public's listening and reading capacity are what I refer to. These Plans, apart from their merits, involve the assumption of authority by the present elected representatives over such long periods of time that it means the annulment of that continued power and authority in the people to decide from time to time their own affairs which is the essential element of parliamentary democracy. The votes of future generations of adults and their elected representatives are necessarily extinguished, or so overladen with previous commitments as to amount in effect to their disfranchisement.

A certain quantum of futurity must necessarily enter into every decision of Parliament, but the policy of repeated big Five-Year Plans now adopted, and the national obligations undertaken under these Plans, go much beyond that unavoidable quantum of futurity, and undermine the liberty of the coming generations and the discretion of their representatives. These long-term Plans so greatly draw on internal resources in advance, and involve the nation in such heavy debt to nations abroad, that there is no room left for real parliamentary democracy for people who come after the present generation. Parliamentary democracy may be maintained in appearance, in forms and ceremonies, but it would not be real.

There are some other questions with which one may deal here which have no connection with what has been already done,

which have no reference to the quality, good or bad, of present performance.

There have been proposals in various quarters to abolish direct election as being fraught with too much wasteful expenditure and serious defects, and to adopt, instead, indirect election as more suitable for a poor nation of vast size and little educational preparation for the direct franchise.

Of course every remedy has its own defects. The greatest difficulty with indirect election is that we cannot have mere electoral colleges with no other duties and powers attached except to vote. This is bound to lead to corruption. This could be overcome by giving responsible local duties and powers, over and above the mere voting function, to those elected at lower levels. We would have, so to say, an elected bureaucracy with vast powers at all levels. Indirect election will have to go with decentralized administration by elected office-bearers. There will be plenty of intimidation, want of integration and tyranny, but the people will get the government they deserve, which is an inescapable harmony, and they may get used to it. Election expenditure—at least that part of it which is public—would be greatly reduced.

There is much to be said for indirect elections with power and responsibility in all the tiers. It would indeed be a long-term plan to educate the people in the art of government. At the end of a long period of travail, the legislatures at State and Central level would be manned by persons with real experience gained at the cost of much national distress.

The party system which has come down to us from Britain has not pleased many people. Saints and others have expressed their disgust with it. They suggest a no-party system. For this, too, in principle, but only in principle, there is a great deal to be said. But we cannot invent a no-party scheme capable of being worked. It cannot be worked in any unitary or federal system of Indian governance. The advocates of the no-party scheme

of government therefore must link their proposal to a complete decentralized scheme of government.

"Party divisions, whether on the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government. This is a truth which, I believe, admits little dispute, having been established by the uniform experience of all ages," said Edmund Burke. Can we by any trick or law—would it be just even if it were possible?—prevent people from coming together over some important question or principle which cannot be disposed of in a short struggle, but which must be tackled through generations? This coming together in a crusade would mean a party.

Without going into the practicability of any scheme of representation of the people based on, or more or less on, the no-party principle, one may put this aside for the present and examine other ideas which at least approach the problem from the no-party ideal without going so far as to say: Have done with all political parties.

There is the suggestion that we may have a permanent scheme of coalition governments—such as, I am told, prevails in a way in Uruguay. In that South American republic, the President, like his counterpart in the U.S.A., is the supreme executive and functions not merely ceremonially as in India, but as Prime Minister with even greater authority in some respects than the British Cabinet or the British Prime Minister.

However, the President in Uruguay is not a single person but a small composite committee wherein the Opposition party has also a share, holding half the number of seats which the majority party holds. This is a kind of constitutional scheme for coalition between majority and minority parties which has been working for a long time in that country, apparently without any hitch.

There is a strong plea in some quarters for a coalition government to be accepted as the normal scheme of governance in

India. There are well-known objections to this proposal, principally the point that it would do away with full responsibility which is essential for good government. But as against this there is much that can be said in favour of constant interplay of wisdoms and ideas between opposing groups even in the chief executive organ of government.

We shall now go back to John Stuart Mill's powerful plea in favour of proportional representation. That great devotee of freedom of thought and enemy of every kind of suppression of liberty strongly welcomed the then new idea of proportional representation in parliamentary government as greatly contributing to the actual realization of the principles of liberty as against the traditional and rigid majority system which often suppresses the real majority view. The single transferable vote was enthusiastically welcomed by John Stuart Mill because it mathematically offered fuller scope for a real majority to issue out of elections. But subsequent experience has shown how cliques can manipulate and render even mathematics impotent.

Experience has also shown that the system may undermine the stability of governments. The experience of France has particularly demonstrated this, and it is only the continued efficiency of the permanent services that has kept France going in spite of governments falling once in a few weeks. It is not an impractical proposition by itself for India, but it is extremely doubtful whether those who have now got into positions of importance will ever agree to the single transferable vote, or to any other scheme of proportional representation, or whether such a scheme is at all feasible in a country where the illiteracy percentage is high. All constitutions create certain vested interests and change becomes impossible where change is to be approved by those who have developed a vested interest in the existing order.

One reform however is very necessary and also very feasible. The unconscionable and grievous expenditure on elections, which gives overwhelming advantages to money-power, can be largely

eliminated if the responsibility of getting people to know that they have a vote to give is taken over entirely by the Government instead of leaving it to political parties and candidates. Elections now are largely, so to say, private enterprise, whereas this is the one thing that should be first nationalized. Why should not Government officials, who revise and get the electoral rolls ready on the basis of universal adult suffrage, also give to each voter his voting card duly numbered for presentation at the polling booth? Why should political parties be entrusted with this task of distributing electoral information, which furnishes abundant opportunities for corruption?

Again, the voting may be done in mobile polling booths operated by the Government. Instead of the voters being conveyed by political parties and candidates to the polling booth, the Government's mobile polling booth can go down to every street in town and village and collect the votes. This would eliminate 99 per cent of the corrupt practices and leave the one per cent, linked to the honesty and efficiency of the officials engaged for the purpose. It would also furnish justification and reasonable grounds for enforcing the exercise of the franchise instead of leaving it to the pressure of interested parties.

If census operations have to be conducted through house-to-house visits by officials in the interest of accuracy and full information, much more important, in the interest of honesty and proper appraisement of public opinion, is it to do the elections on a house-to-house visit by the officials of the State on a non-party basis. The total drain on national resources would be less if the State does this instead of leaving it to candidates and parties interested in corrupt practices and the suppression of facts. Further it should not be forgotten that it is the proper duty of the State, as disinguished from parties, to take the voters' lists and the information contained in them to the voters direct, and it is a failure of duty to leave that task to be farmed out to political parties who have their own interest here in suppression and falsification.

I have ended my desultory disquisition with this procedural reform, but it is the one thing that may save parliamentary democracy in India from acquiring a worse and worse name as the years go by. I conclude as I began, emphasizing that parliamentary democracy's popularity—and, therefore, life—depends on the honest and efficient administration that prevails under it—I would even say, which survives in spite of it. The greatest and ever-encouraging example before us is British administration and British parliamentary democracy.

August 13, 1961 *The Illustrated Weekly of India*

WHOSE THE SWEAT AND TEARS?

INDEPENDENCE week again. Grim irony marks a coincidence of this year's Independence celebration with most serious blows and further threats to the freedom of the citizen. Wrong policies are growing wronger and wronger in frantic self-defence. As each year's flag-hoistings and parades are fanfaronaded, State-socialism and concentration of all power in the hands of officials, at all levels, grow in scope and virulence, thinning out the courage and sense of freedom in the citizen's soul to vanishing point. Happy are those builders of India's Freedom who have disappeared from the terrestrial scene and do not have to grieve.

The Third Plan has been presented to Parliament, and a fairly full summary has been furnished to the press. The papers carry the warning in a headline : "Extra taxes are inevitable". They could well have added another headline : "Controls of all kinds are inevitable". The objects stated make attractive reading but it is not "socialism, without regimentation", as claimed by its sponsors. This is an obvious impossibility, being a contradiction in terms.

No doubt the preface to the 770-page essay 'bears the Nehru imprint'. A close study will reveal the curious fact that there is nothing in the long summary to enable one to see how the benefits claimed for the socialistic dogma are planned to be achieved. Leaving aside the rhetoric and the vague promises of a happy India, the hand-out deals only with how a huge amount of money is planned to be invested in public enterprises, and how it is hoped the money will be found. An amount of Rs. 11,600 crores has to be raised. Of this Rs. 1,200 crores will go to meet expenditure on staff and the like, while Rs. 200 crores will be set aside to help selected private enterprises. The assignment for investment in the public sector is Rs. 6,100 crores as against Rs. 4,100 crores envisaged for the private sector. We shall not go into the merits of the distribution of this 6,100 crores among the various items of the public sector. We are concerned with the inevitable taxation, and the inevitable regimentation of all private enterprise and the inevitable curbs on all consumption goods and on all services. Mr. Nehru's thesis is that the socialist pattern, which it is his mission to impose on India, will not involve the commonly conceived concommitant of suffocating regimentation. This is an impossible notion and, as a promise, it is bound to turn out to be a deception. It is as impossible to have the State socialism he has planned without suffocating regimentation as it is to spend money without earning it. We cannot eliminate the evils of regimentation from the socialistic pattern of Mr. Nehru, which is State socialism.

So also is it plain that we cannot push this Plan through, without murderous taxation. This taxation and its effects will defeat the Plan itself. For there will be no adequate scope or incentive for private enterprise which is an integral part of the proposed Plan.

The crying need of the hour is reduction of taxation and greater scope for saving and for investment, with personal responsibility and incentive in private enterprise canalised, if so desired, by the State and its asumed wisdom. But what is being

proposed is the maintenance of the present burden and addition of fresh taxes. All savings are to be rigorously and compulsorily mopped up to be put in the yawning mouth of the public sector, leaving but little incentive and little scope for private creative effort, and even that little scope is to be put under numerous curbs and restrictions with the inevitable result of private monopolies for a few favoured persons.

We know how efficient and frugal public management has proved to be ! There is no ground for believing that any improvement will be effected in that direction. Thus, we may be sure that a good percentage of the mopped up resources will go down the drain.

A Himalayan plan of securing foreign aid is an integral part of the Plan. It is admitted that foreign assistance to the extent of Rs. 2,200 crores is necessary to make both ends of the Plan meet, over and above a modestly estimated deficit financing programme of Rs. 550 crores.

The plan for repayment of this foreign debt of Rs. 2,200 crores is not indicated in any manner specifically, or even vaguely, although payment of interest (it may be assumed) will somehow be provided for in the annual budgets. These foreign loans cannot hang over the nation's head without ill effects. This single element is enough to vitiate the validity of the Plan, although constant repetition and familiarity have served to reduce the unpleasant feeling of bankruptcy and dependence.

The Plan makes it explicit that both direct and indirect taxes must be increased, in order to get it through. The minimum additional taxation envisaged in the Plan is Central taxation to the extent of Rs. 1,100 crores and the States', Rs. 610 crores. It may be fairly inferred that the greater part of this additional burden will be imposed through indirect taxation, for it is only in that way the Government can hope to make a big sum. Indirect taxes impinge on all the vast population poor as they are,

but the law of multiplication gives importance to indirect taxes on commodities, from the Finance Minister's view-point.

Direct taxation reduces disposable incomes and indirect taxes reduce the quantum of goods and services that can be bought against spending. Both these, the Plan points out, will keep consumption down—which is what the Government wants, whatever privation and misery it may mean to the people.

Apart from any repayment question, the annual balance of payments demands an export of Rs. 3,700 crores during the period of the Plan or Rs. 740 crores per year over and above the external assistance annually relied on to the extent of Rs. 520 crores. The export drive calls for every kind of curb on internal consumption, which is sought to be exercised through reducing income by direct taxation and increasing the cost of commodities and services by indirect taxation. Controls and quotas, and curbs of all kinds must, therefore, be expected as the inevitable consequences of the Plan. The dependence on the favour of officials at all levels is insufferable even now. The Third Plan will make the position much worse. There is fair warning in the Plan of this most demoralizing development. Corruption will assume *Visvaroopam.* Difficulties and annoyances, it may be taken for granted, are understated in the presentation of the Plan. But even the understatements are enough to make one realize what is in store for the people.

" Restraints on the growth of internal consumption are an essential condition of a successful export drive. Domestic consumption must be held within reasonable limits in order to increase export surpluses. " What is a reasonable or unreasonable limit in each case will have to be decided by the officials concerned and the assistance of M.L.As. and M.Ps. will play a large part in this assessment of reasonableness. Again, we are warned, " the possibilities of significant and even disturbing price rise cannot be entirely eliminated "—a mild way of putting the certain consequences of the restraints and curbs that are, and will

in increasing measure be, put in action. "In certain sectors," we are told, "physical allocations and direct control may become necessary."

We are told there will be a large measure of delegation of authority and flexibility of operation in respect of the public sector. This will be the new policy, in order to meet the unanswerable charges of inefficiency in the public sector. It is small comfort to know who exercises authority. In the issue between Central and delegated authority, what will certainly suffer is the sense of answerability. State management is bound to be marked by the well-known features of waste and neglect, whether the official at the spot is allowed to do it or he waits for orders from the Centre. Parliamentary control will be practically nil, and belated discoveries and confessions will not help the nation. The only solution for the problem of efficiency is the personal interest developed in private enterprise and not delegation of authority. Official hunger for power may exhibit itself in suggestions for a greater measure of delegated authority. But the result will be greater corruption and irresponsibility, and Parliament which is the only possible forum for investigation will be unable to do anything for a variety of obvious reasons.

Enough is said in the Plan for shrewd labour leaders to expect cutting down of wages and new restraints on collective bargaining in all public sector units. But in that field, the Government has a powerful opponent to cope with, unlike in the case of the helpless consumer and taxpayer.

If all this bootless hurry, impossible promises, and contradictions are intended to prevent the people from being lured into communism, surely it would be more sensible and proper to expose the falsehood and the deception and the inevitable evils of communism, and educate the people against it than to indulge in parallel or identical impossibilities and deceptions and violations of freedom, and in grinding taxation and destruction of incentives, and a regime that generates widespread uncertainty and despair.

A daily paper has a leading article bitterly criticizing the Plan on its merits and its basis, but winds up despairingly, saying we cannot, however, allow the Plan to fail because all our economy is mortgaged to it, and it would mean a complete collapse of the national economy if we now allow it to prove its own invalidity. This is the predicament to which we are reduced by allowing totalitarian plans to be made by the ruling party, covering successive long periods totalling 15 years of national life and to commit the people and their economy to it. And now this Plan explicitly refers to a further chain of advance commitments by fourth and fifth plans leading up to 1976, almost touching the twenty-first century. These five-year or fifteen-year plans are by their huge and irrecoverable commitments in advance suited for one-party rule for all time, and become indeed an instrument for that very perpetuation. It is a pity that this grave and fundamental objection is not realized by the people. As we have not given up our allegiance to democracy and representative government, shall we remain apathetic to a vast commitment contrary to democracy? The plain issue is whether the dogmatic attitude and the plans of a single party should over-rule democracy itself—whether the Plan should be allowed to acquire the sacrosanct and permanent character of the Constitution itself, thereby making it necessary that all political work should be not only within the four walls of the Constitution but also within the four walls of the Plan. The only way to protest against this dictatorship and perpetual mortgage is by voting against the Congress Party at the general elections.

August 19, 1961 *Swarajya*

PUNJAB BAN ON SUBA NEWS

THE Congress Party has not added to its good record by the most recent bans on information issued by the Punjab Government. Because the P.M. condemns the agitation for the extension

of the principle of the linguistic division of States to the Punjab area, although it has been applied to all other areas in India, the Kairon Government has issued a ban prohibiting the publication in any newspaper in the Punjab of any news item relating to the Punjabi Suba demand or the fast by Master Tara Singh. A ban on the entry into the Punjab of any newspaper in India which publishes such news, is also contemplated as a logical consequence of the ban on the Punjab newspapers.

All this is no doubt within the powers given to a local government. But laws are not intended to be used for the purpose of suppressing fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution, or for the purpose of political tyranny. These infractions of law in the highest sense are the logical corollaries of one-party rule. Those who made the Constitution in 1950 had thought Indian citizens would pride themselves, saying "where else shall we find such liberty of action, thought, speech or laws which protect us so well ?" Alas that the lamp of liberty lighted by the Constitution in 1950 has begun to burn so dim "that you can't see to read by it". Here in the Punjab "it flickers and smokes very gloomily".

Maladies of the body politics are not alleviated or cured by suppression of the symptoms. In fact, it makes the cure more difficult. National integration has been demonstrated as an impossibility as long as these language islands, which have been brought into existence. are allowed to remain as such. Let the whole scheme of delegated authority based on the foundation of the majority language of the area be scrapped, or let the Punjabi area have its little autonomy like other similar areas, and be dealt with along with other linguistic States, until it should become possible to undo the mischief.

August 19, 1961 *Swarajya*

SUGAR EXPORT TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The export of sugar has given rise to a 'crisis', as it is called in government circles. It is not a crisis but a shame. Our sugar is to be compulsorily exported, maintaining a high internal price in spite of surplus—and inspite of, be it remembered, land going under this money crop, which should otherwise have been under rice or cereals to reduce the food deficit. This exported sugar is to be sold abroad necessarily at a big loss, because there is a lot of cheaper sugar available elsewhere, with which we must compete, the loss being put on the heads of sugar consumers in India for a third part; and for the rest, it is to be put either on the cane-growers who will get less price to that extent, or on the sugar manufacturers who put it again on the consumers or on the general tax-payer, if finally the Government generously gets out of the mess, agreeing to give a 'subsidy'.

Let us never forget the big truth that what the Central Government agrees to give as a 'grant' or a 'subsidy', or some other variation of it, is in reality an additional tax on the people. Nothing can be got from governments (be they at the Centre or in the States) except from what the people pay to one or the other. These tempting gifts and grants and subsidies are all transfers from the till into which A to Z of all grades of tax-payers pay. No grant or subsidy comes from the skies. It all comes from the people and lowers their 'standard of life'.

The formulae in which the financial operations of governments are clothed are all deceptive sugar-coating of the bitter pill of taxation. In the process of transfer from the general tax-payer to the subsidy-receiver, a big fraction goes down the drain in administrative charges, wastage and pilferage involved in all such circuits of money among a money-hungry people.

The story of sugar is the story of every export at a loss, more or less. And this, not to speak of the difficulty of finding a

market in advanced countries for our generally inferior articles. Imagine our trying to sell our aircraft assembled in Bangalore, or our watches assembled in Bangalore or elsewhere. It would be a grand achievement to sell a Vizag-made ship to the British or the Americans.

The world is one and we should submit to a division of labour and skill, based on long experience and patient practice, and available nearby resources. If we try to disregard the law of division of labour in a unitary world, in our ambition to do everything that everybody does, and call prudence by the name of reactionary backwardness, we arrive at taxation and yet heavier taxation and a lowering of standards of life.

August 19, 1961 *Swarajya*

MAJOR TITOV'S FEAT

MAJOR Gherman Stepanovich Titov spent 25 hours circling in a spaceship round the earth at a height of 165 miles from the earth's surface. It is a great achievement and the efforts of other technically advanced nations in this field have come nowhere near this Russian achievemet. If this race in technical advance were to *replace* the race in the invention and production of destructive weapons which are a menace to human life and civilization, it would not only be 'exciting and exhilarating' but most welcome. Unfortunately, these victories in the field of physical science and technology are closely and inevitably attached to destructive military thinking and doing, and it is an alarming exhibition of prowess and invention and far from exhilarating.

As for a sense of proportion, it is true 165 miles above the earth's surface is a great deal and a rate of 290 miles per minute is enormous. Of course at 165 miles above one can see more of

the terrestrial sphere than at 30,000 ft. in a plane. But this verification is not much of a gain. The real resulting fact is military fright among nations already nervous to breaking-point.

If we remember the distance of the stars and the nebulae, which light takes millions of years to cross, this conquest of a height of 165 miles is infinitesimally little and we may still retain our humility. At the other end of the mystery of the universe is the atom which has been sought to be split up into its ultimate parts. The latest winner of the Nobel Prize for Physics, Dr. Glaser, has announced his confession that scientists have found to their dismay that all their work in this direction only helps deepen the mystery of nature.

August 19, 1961 *Swarajya*

STATUS OF INDIANS OVERSEAS

THE South African Nationalist Party has admitted that Indians in South Africa have become a "permanent part of the population," to use the language of the minister who spoke on behalf of the Government of South Africa. The idea of repatriation to India has been abandoned. It is time this frank admission is taken as a lesson by Sinhalese chauvinists in Ceylon, who have been responsible for terrible uncertainty and avoidable misery for the large population of Indians in Ceylon who have settled down there exactly as the Indians of South Africa have done. Those who were instruments in the development and progress of the island and who choose to remain as permanent citizens, should be permitted to do so in peace if not honoured and treated with becoming gratitude. True the South African white people have a plan of *apartheid* about the citizens of Indian origin in South Africa. But that is based on the notion that the Indian immigrants are not civilized enough and should not mix with

the white immigrants, either by reason of colour or manners, or both. But in the case of Indians in Ceylon there is no difference in colour or manners or racial origin, and in that respect South Africa need not be copied by the majority party in Ceylon. Whether a citizen really intends to be a Ceylon citizen should be decided by *him*, and should not be treated as doubtful fact to be adjudicated on by an adverse tribunal. This is obvious justice but often even obvious justice gets clouded through passion and prejudice.

August 19, 1961 *Swarajya*

JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN U. S. S. R.

THE Attorney-General of India after his recent visit to Moscow had some pleasant things to say about the communist regime's judicial system, in particular the institution of an executive officer to look into cases of gross injustice and unfair treatment. There are similar officers in some Scandinavian countries and a plea was once put forward in the *Swarajya* for appointing such an officer in India also where executive unfairness and misconduct go very often without judicial remedies. In a regime where the party plays a very dominant part it is necessary to have such an officer to moderate injustices.

As against the picture given by the Attorney-General, we have an interesting *Reuter's* report that Judge Horst Hatzar of the East German Supreme Court has just fled to the West with nine members of his family and said that in East Germany "the administration of law has sunk to such a level that one is ashamed to be a lawyer."

The Attorney-General seemed to appreciate the part that popular courts play in Russia. The tendency of enlightened opinion in India is to abolish even the jury and the assessor insti-

tutions and this leaning is based on much experience. We have to remind ourselves of the two classic cases of 'justice' meted by the crowd to Socrates and to Jesus of Nazareth. People's courts are unsafe trustees of the rule of law which requires passion to be reduced to the minimum.

August 19, 1961 *Swarajya*

LOVE OF ONE'S COMMUNITY

It is hard to remove a fallacy which has spread wide and stuck deep root. But like determined husbandmen who resolve to clear their fields of prickly pear, we must eliminate what we have found to be a fallacy.

A basic virtue does not become a vice if political ambition finds it to be an impediment in its way. Love of family and love of the larger but intimate circle to which you belong by birth and marriage are not vices, but are praiseworthy attitudes of life, which have survival value in the evolutionary struggle. That attachment to one's family is not to be condemned or ignored is easily admitted. But attachment to the next concentric circle has come to be treated as unpatriotic. Instead of recognizing such attachments as an inevitable fact and building on them for the time being, until such attachments are dissolved by the march of culture and time, we have been taught to ignore them and proceed as if they did not exist, thus generating widespread hypocrisy and unreality. Love of one's community is a virtue and not a vice. It is a brick which can help us to build. It is a fact as true as the earth we stand upon, and it is futile to ignore it and build on something that is not true and does not exist.

There was more wisdom in the British regime which formerly organized the army regiments on communal *esprit de*

corps—on the factual basis of communities, Sikhs, Jats, Rajputs, Marathas, etc., than in our premature and fallacious notion that we have abolished communal feeling and can build, ignoring it.

August 19, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE COMMON SCRIPT PLAN

It is unfortunate that the lesson has not yet been learnt by those whose thinking has been atrophied by political and executive power—that where emotions are touched and the co-operation of differing minds is required, compulsion has the effect contrary to what is desired. The adumbrated plan of the Congress bosses, who met recently to devise ways of bringing about integration, that the people of India may be asked to use Devanagari script even for their own regional languages and that every boy and girl, besides being grounded in his or her mother-tongue and English, must be compelled to learn two other Indian languages, one of which must be Hindi, is a project that is neither practicable nor likely to induce goodwill or unity but is certain to create hostile passions and misunderstanding. I shall not speak of Bengal or Assam or Orissa. I should give expression to what I am certain will be the reactions in the South, about which I am relatively better qualified to speak. The proposals will evoke the uttermost anger in all circles, including those who are deeply sensible of the need for national integration and unity of all India, and are as interested in the culture of our land as any patriot in the North pledged to loyally supporting the fancies and projects of the ruling party.

The talk of making Devanagari a common script for all the languages scheduled in the Constitution is extremely foolish. Let me not presume to enquire whether the Bengalis or the Assamese, or the people of Orissa or Andhra or Karnataka will

agree to write in Nagari for the benefit of their respective people. So far as Tamil is concerned, this is an impossible idea. It is as impracticable as the other project of romanization, to which westerners would be inclined to give support for just the same reasons as make the Hindi people favour a plan of nagarization. As for promoting good feelings, this project is about the worst that can be adumbrated for the integration of minds. It will rouse bitter animosity. I cannot be less frank in my expression if I wish to give honest advice.

Nagari was not the script even for Sanskrit in all parts of India, where it came in times immemorial as a language without a script. Sanskrit was written in the Bengali, the Telugu, the Tamil Grantham and Malayalam alphabets in the respective regions. The notion that it came with the Nagari script is utterly wrong. It is the modern universities and the Bombay publishers who helped to make Nagari universal for Sanskrit.

Tamil has a literature as old and as admired and loved by Tamil people, as Sanskrit itself. It has served the cause of culture and religion in the South in equal measure with Sanskrit. The Tamil people will never accept the Nagari script for their language, whatever advantage drawing-room planners may see in it. The classics of Tamil cannot be re-written in Nagari with out damage to their beauty and their appeal. Any attempt to put the Nagari script idea into practice will cause a greater rift and disintegration than anything else that could be conceived of by hasty non-Tamilians in their patriotic zeal.

The English people have not accepted the rationalization of English spelling, in spite of most eminent advocacy. There is something that cannot be overlooked—what may be called the commitment of mass literature and the continuity of education from generation to generation. Script change is obviously harder than change of spelling. I cannot imagine that any modern Tamil writer's brain will work if he begins to write in Nagari.

National integration is something to be achieved in the mind by infectious goodwill and not by the imposition of a common dress or a common script or a common beard or a common language, or by any other device relating to externals. Effects should not be mistaken for causes. The mind is the seat of union or disunion, and it cannot be reached except by continued generosity, kindliness and trust. Shortcuts make matters worse and make a long way longer still.

There is also a proposal regarding secondary education, to make every one compulsorily learn two modern Indian languages, besides the mother-tongue and English, and that one of these two additional languages should be Hindi. It is an ingenious attempt to distribute trouble in an even way, so as to create an impression of impartiality. Apart from how far anyone will succeed in compelling all Hindi-speaking children to learn a South Indian language, this project would hurt the claims of Sanskrit, the study of which is so essential as a moral and cultural integrator in addition to English. If any formula regarding two additional languages should be thought of, it would be best to provide that one of them should be Sanskrit *or* Hindi. After all Hindi is only Sanskrit 'corrupted'. This should fairly meet all requirements and assist the march to integration and progress.

It is a pity that in the deliberations of the Congress bosses over such matters the Tamil Congress leaders do not play their part effectively. I know that their views do not in the least differ from what I have expressed here, but they seem somehow to be overawed or bamboozled by phrases such as 'ultimately', 'not now', 'gradually', and so on. The responsibilities of regional representation get affected by the disproportionate pressure of a single party mentality. I do not wish to put it at worse than that. A little more courage on the part of the Madras ministers would help wisdom as well as the cause of integration.

August 26, 1961 *Swarajya*

TARA SINGH'S FAST

MASTER Tara Singh did not choose to accept my advice to convert his fast into a prayer-fast for effecting change of heart in the Hindu mind and for the dawning of a sense of justice in Delhi. I can only pray fervently (and ask others to do so) for some Divine intervention. God does not require the consent of us mortals for His intervention. May Master Tara Singh's life be somehow saved!

And may the Sikh community, who gallantly stood by the nation in the freedom struggle, hold their souls in patience. Their present energy and success in peaceful, industrial endeavour have equalled their past patriotic sacrifices, and they are in every respect an example to the rest of the people of India. Let the Hindus not forget the Sikhs are as devout worshippers of Hari as any Hindu devotee. It is stupid for either Hindus or Sikhs to look upon one another as belonging to different creeds. The Sikhs are a denomination of the great Hindu community, whom the Hindus should be proud to acknowledge as brothers in faith.

The inevitable consequence of what the Prime Minister has seen as the undesirable results of the linguistic re-organization of States is that an enquiry should be made, as soon as possible, about what can be done to counteract these evil results and help the process of synthesis going on among the people of India, and stop the spirit of isolation and mutual opposition among linguistic States. If such an enquiry is started, it will be a valid and convincing reason for Master Tara Singh to await developments, and give up his present fast based on a demand that is consistent only with the present linguistic reorganization of States. It is to be hoped that the Prime Minister will consider this suggestion, in order to prevent an acute situation developing in the Punjab.

The venerable Chairman of the Punjab Swatantra Party, Sardar Uddham Singh Nagoke, has been arrested under the Preventive Detention Act and sent to Yole Camp in the Kangra district. Not a shred of reason for the application of the Detention Act against him has been offered; unless, indeed, it is that he has many times been jailed in India's freedom struggle and he is now head of the Swatantra Party in the Punjab. That he had several meetings with Master Tara Singh has been mentioned. So also had many others who had wanted to dissuade Masterji from his fast. This and other arbitrary arrests to come are, however, the 'logical' sequence of the repressive policy of the Punjab Congress dictator, for which he has been given full authority by the Congress High Command. It is most deplorable.

August 26, 1961 *Swarajya*

NO RECOGNITION TO SWATANTRA

"I am the State," said Louis XVI and was surprised at the attempt to make a difference about it. So also does the Congress Party believe about itself that it is the State and that it is ridiculous for any one to doubt it. The August 15 festival has been celebrated all over the land once again, as if it were the Congress Party's anniversary function. Flags have been unfurled and hoisted and festoons hung, so that all people may believe that the festival is altogether and exclusively a Congress boost.

This objectionable ambiguity of the tri-colour, and of all festivals in which it forms an essential part, is a menace to parliamentary democracy. The Defence forces and the civil services are all being indoctrinated in this scheme of identifying a particular party with the State. Such a confusion would not be tolerated in England or America.

As against the open indulgence in this ambiguity of flag and festival, it is amusing to see that the the Election Commissioner is finding it difficult to give the Swatantra Party equal facilities with the Congress in the matter of symbol and voters' lists. We are told that we did not secure three per cent of the votes at the last elections (when we were not born !) and so we cannot have the facilities which the Congress Party will enjoy in these respects. The Election Commissioner hesitates to accept the principle of equal opportunities to a party that challenges the Congress Party's claim to rule at the Centre and in the States. Some test or other, he thinks, must be invented against new parties in place of the inapplicable rule arbitrarily enunciated without any legislative authority.

August 26, 1961 *Swaraiua*

KICKING OFF THE LADDER

CONGRESSMEN are tackling the language problem. The fact is they are suffering from two minds about it. Reason and judgment pull them one way. Obstinacy pulls them in another direction. They have almost arrived at the truth. But they shrink from it like a man who has decided on a plunge-bath in winter but shrinks from it on approaching the cold water. They have seen that English is the inevitable solution for the problem of effective integration of all parts of India into one understanding nation. But as they are making the discovery, they are frightened by it and add "until Hindi is sufficiently developed" etc., etc., etc. To confess an error and retract requires courage —and only God gives that courage. These until's and if's must go. There is no use burdening the truth with if's and until's.

I have argued and written quite enough on this subject. I must now leave the work to others. It is as much their concern

as mine, and recent happenings have removed the mist and enabled every one to see the path clearly. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister who sees clearly has a congenital inability to get things done rightly. It is a relieving feature that quite a few others, too, have now begun to see and speak nearly as they should. Let us hope for co-operative courage to emerge and save India from disintegration. English has integrated and united us and it is an essential element in the unity we have forged. It is not good or safe to kick off the ladder by which we climbed up. Hindi is good. It is spoken by a large number of good people. But it is not good enough for the requirements of governments and universities. It has not coped with modern knowledge in its own right. Let us not in our myopia disable the youth of the nation from giving of their best as they should all over India, irrespective of the language islands we have been stupidly seeking to perpetuate.

The latest hand-out of the Press Registrar shows that the circulation of English newspapers in India calculated from figures available for 1960 is 11½ lakhs. As against this the circulation of Hindi newspapers is less than 7½ lakhs. The figures for the Southern languages, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam papers, total more than 13 lakhs. Newspaper reading is a fair index of the relative potential of languages as a means of communication among those interested in public affairs. The overwhelming vogue of English is obvious from the above figures. The relative position of Hindi as against the languages of the South is also interesting.

August 26, 1961 *Swarajya*

FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN ASIA

I shall not attempt to present a comprehensive examination of the future of democracy in Asia but confine myself to stating my main apprehension about it.

If people in the emancipated regions of Asia are found by objective surveyors from the West to be on the whole apathetic about democracy, the want of enthusiasm must be attributed to what they have seen and experienced of democracy, not to any want of appreciation of the beauty of self-government. The democratic governments that have replaced monarchies, feudal lords or colonial bureaucrats have far too tangibly played for the pleasure and satisfaction of their parasites, be they particular groups or the leaders of numerical majorities on whose votes they depend for power, to rouse enthusiasm among the people as a whole. They have not yet seen democracy working in good order.

My main apprehension centres on good government. If there is no good government actually and concretely issuing out of democracy, its fate in Asia is sealed. It will be replaced by army-backed dictatorship.

The ancient peoples of Asia, emancipated from royal and feudal tyrannies and traditions and from Western domination of various types, were not only eager for freedom from the racial arrogance of ousiders and their exploitation, but hungered and continue to hunger for just and good government. And, therefore, where there is no good government issuing from out of the rule of their elected representatives, they will be easily persuaded to accept military rule by the leaders of the standing armies when these take over the reins of government.

Standing armies have ever been a danger to democracies. Where there is no tradition of popular government, and the people crave for just and good government, and this craving is unfulfilled, a good army leader and his ready-made disciplined following easily fill the vacuum. It is only when the community is in a healthy, virile condition that it can control its army. Otherwise the converse happens. The army by its very nature has developed into a well-knit and disciplined force, and it asserts

itself and takes over the function of government, instead of being the mere physical arm of the community. The disciplined men accustomed to obey their chiefs, and indeed taking pride in such obedience, become a powerful party capable of coping with any opposition from intellectuals and idealists. The enemies of democracy in Asia are corruption and misrule on the one hand and, on the other, the standing armies which are ready to oust the civil authority. The hypnosis of military life is enough to give to generals of the armies the same power as political leaders develop over their following. Military dictatorship cannot last long, but for the time being it settles problems and bars democratic progress. For good government, we require a properly recruited administrative corps whose members refuse to swerve from their proper duties at the instance of group leaders and the numerous crowd of parasites that always surround party chiefs. An efficient and conscientious administrative corps is the very bone of orderly democracy. Where this is absent, the rot sets in very soon. Where this is present, there is considerable staying power for democracy. Such administrative corps are absent in Asiatic countries, barring a few exceptions where good government was inherited from the British colonial system. Even these exceptions are fast fading away under the pressures of unwise, prejudiced and selfish political parties, and the general Asiatic atmosphere has begun to prevail there also. Everyone knows now that in India nothing can be got through in government offices unless 'grease' is applied, and since nothing can be done now by anybody except after approval and sanction in government offices, the evil has assumed an all-pervading omnivorous character.

The only check on the untoward development I have pointed out is in the development of courage and good conduct in the civil population. Here we face the crucial problem : Can we raise the level of morality in the daily conduct among the people of Asiatic countries by secular homilies ? Without such a raising of the general level of morality, no democracy can last.

It is not because people in Asia do not see what is right and what is wrong that they fail in the observance of the moral codes they have inherited in abundance. There is no Western country, including England and the United States of America, which can vie with the standard or spread of *knowledge* of morality and philosophy prevailing in Asiatic countries, Hindu, Muslim or Buddhist, thanks to the work of great teachers whom Asia has produced. It is because the Will is not strong enough to reject temptation and listen to the voice of Conscience that the people do not observe the codes in which they are more proficient than any people of the West.

How is the Will to be strengthened? It cannot be done, it has not been ever done in history, except in one of two ways. The atmosphere created by a revolution and its terrors, accompanied by the hope of a better world, can achieve a moral chastening, as it has done in the communist countries.

Or it can be achieved through Religion. Where there has been no revolution and its terrors, or war and its sufferings, to chasten the hearts of men, Religion is the only way—not this or that religion, but some one or other accepted religion which strengthens the Will to do the right and to reject the attractions of evil.

Intellectual secular advancement has produced new attractions and new desires instead of furnishing the Will with new strength, the net result being that the uneducated are generally better men and women than the educated.

It may appear to be a strange conclusion, but democracy in Asia has no chance unless Religion is revived and restored. *Dharma* is the missing element that is required for the consolidation of democracy in Asia.

The State should abstain from imposing the particular doctrines or forms of worship of any single religion or denomination

upon others. But this attitude of negative impartiality is not enough to meet the requirements of the fast deteriorating situation. A positive but catholic approach is what is required. The modern art-entertainments have added to the velocity of the regression of moral restraints. The Will to resist evil is daily being enfeebled by these art-entertainments. We should help and encourage all those religions and denominations that command authority in the family lives of the people of Asia.

Paradoxical as it may appear to those who have been hopelessly bitten by modern scepticism, the hope for democracy in Asia lies in the revival of Religion, in the concrete sense of impartial encouragement of the established religions of Asia. If it is permissible to put it in a facetious form, the future of democracy in Asia is in its marriage with Religion. In the West democracy may thrive in single blessedness. But in Asia democracy must submit to conjugal life with Religion. And this, too, in the polygamous way, so that all the prevailing religions may have an equal and honoured place in the royal harem. Unless *Dharma* is strengthened thus, democracy will fail in Asia.

September 1961 *The Hyphen*

UNWILLINGNESS TO SEE FACTS

WHERE there is a fire and danger of its spreading, one raises the alarm and cries 'Fire', not once but several times. So also when a railwayman sees danger of a collision, he waves the red flag, not once but repeatedly. Likewise, I write again and again about soaring prices and soaring taxes, resulting from industrialization sought to be completed within the period of a particular stewardship.

One hopes loyal congressmen will not ask for a ban on the Reserve Bank as they do in respect of communalism or on Pun-

jabi Suba news. The Reserve Bank has been sounding alarms. Facts are useful to know, although they disclose our own errors. To clamp down on information is not the way to deal with them. Unwillingness to see is the most dangerous of all symptoms of misgovernment.

Sweeping axioms, howsoever cut and dried, cannot put out a fire. The Reserve Bank is understood to have drawn the attention of the Union Finance Minister to the poor response of the money market to the recent loans floated by the Government of India leading to a very heavy reliance on the Reserve Bank's own subscription to produce a "success". When genuine savings are made impossible, how can the Government expect subscriptions to its loans? When you starve the goose, you can't expect the bird to lay its (golden) eggs.

Professor Parkinson is pleading for reduction of public expenditure in England and limitation of taxation to 20 per cent of the national income. As we go down in the scale of national income—and India is very low down—the allowable measure of taxation must be less and less.

The Reserve Bank's report on currency and finance for 1960-61 points out that altogether industrial production has risen by more than 12 per cent; paradoxically the index of wholesale prices also rose by 7.2 per cent. A total rise of 30 per cent in the wholesale prices during the Second Plan period is what we begin with at the start of the Third Plan with all its further consequences in the same direction admitted in legible printer's ink. The socalled Third Plan begins with the lowest level of foreign exchange reserves and a dangerously high level of prices. And if, as the planners have admitted, there is likelihood of a further steep rise, the situation cannot be coped with or covered by cliches and long speeches lulling people to sleep.

A clear admission is always useful, specially when it comes from the Minister for Planning. The report reads: "On the

vexed question of prices, Mr. Nanda said that one of the reasons for the rise in prices during the Second Plan was that deficit financing had increased out of proportion." This is an answer to all the ignorant talk of Congress bosses at lower levels that the printing of notes at Nasik did not matter, and, indeed, that it was good for the poor people who got more money thereby.

It is unfortunately far too easy to bamboozle our people and steal their votes. But it is lucky that there is an honest man somewhere who, in spite of much muddle, retains his respect for truth. Deficit financing, which is another name for the printing of currency to overbalance production and to obtain human labour cheap, is at least "one of the reasons" for the rise in prices.

Now what did Mr. Nanda say next? He said that indirect taxation during the last ten years had been responsible for an annual increase of prices by half a per cent. The word 'annual' means a progressive half a per cent. How he was advised, and on what nice calculation, to reach this precise half a per cent will be a mystery. But that apart, it is clear the Government is making up for it by increased indirect taxation during the period of the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, etc., plans.

It is either deficit financing or indirect taxation or both, and it is no comfort to the poor man that the operation shifts from one to the other according to the whim of the grand operator. The Plan report explicitly admits there will be a rise in prices but promises to keep it in check by physical controls and other methods.

There is an innocent belief that the Government at the Centre or those in the States can somehow 'check' prices and 'hold the price line', and appeals are made in the press for this being done at once. This physical holding of the price line is an illusion which, if allowed to prevail, will only lead to more blackmarketing as well as high prices. Holding the price line is not a circus trick. It means reversing policies.

The Planning Commission believes in what it calls "institutional changes" to control prices, that is to say, in the transfer of the distribution business from private and individual hands to co-operative and State agencies. This would result in monopolies and plenty of mismanagement. The limited safeguard against undue exploitation which is inherent in the competition of the free market will be lost and there will be more black-marketing—witness the cement business, a scandal that everybody now knows but which is still unabated.

The payments position having become difficult, we have secured what may be deemed a concession that payments to some of our foreign creditors may be in Indian currency. Apart from the possibility of such rupees going to help subversion, it will certainly add to the inflation and the upward flight of prices.

All this is melancholy but one cannot help warning where warning needs to be given. To flatter or suppress truth in fear of something is not patriotism but the opposite of it, viz., treason.

September 2, 1961 *Swarajya*

TAXING CHARITIES

Mr. Masani pleaded manfully for a very good cause in the course of the Income Tax Bill debate in the Lok Sabha. The Government seeks to tax charities if they are not for the benefit of everyone but for the benefit of the donor's community or race or religion or caste. The Government has also introduced a clause to tax trusts held by any person which are for the benefit not of the public but for that of a particular community, and this with retrospective effect, on trusts even already constituted.

These shortsighted provisions may be considered by the thoughtless as consistent with the secular character and policy of the Government. They are wholly misconceived and calculated to dry up the natural springs of charity in this country. The limited socialism that good men voluntarily practise is far more precious than the socalled socialism emanating from taxation, and administered by officials. A little arithmetic is enough to show that such voluntary benefactions to various communities would cover the entire nation.

The clauses opposed by Mr. Masani and others are wholly in conflict with what Gandhiji wanted to educate our people into, viz., the doctrine of trusteeship. The unselfishness and philanthropy involved in large bequests by fortunate individuals in favour of the numerous born and unborn people going by the name of a community, and to which they happen to belong by birth or religious affiliation, is sought to be treated by the Government as a worthless act and to be taxed like any other selfish indulgence and expenditure.

Nothing can be blinder than this policy and opposed to all Indian tradition and genius. This policy is based on ignorance of human nature. Mr. Masani and others should be congratulated for their valiant effort to set the matter right. But when the Government is bent on securing a monopoly of all charity in the country, and on drying up all voluntary compassion, arguments can be of no avail.

But payment to Congress Party funds is to be treated as legitimate expenditure under the recent legislation, and so it will be exempt from tax and will serve to bring the slab down for the donor companies. The Finance Minister's answer on this immoral discrimination could not possibly pass. He knew very well what the legal position was. The education of the citizen into trusteeship, as Gandhiji desired, must be gradual. He must be taken through one concentric circle after another to the outermost circle. Communal charities and trusts are a school for the

broadminded citizenship that Gandhiji conceived as a goal. The whole-or-nothing policy will only serve to kill the instinct and not to broaden it. Indian welfare has to be built with native clay.

September 2, 1961 *Swarajya*

A RARE SPIRIT

So Vedaratnam too is gone, the last Gandhian in the Madras Congress. Good men are fast disappearing, one after another, leaving behind, to be in complete charge of the Congress, those who had long suppressed their opposition to Gandhiji and his plea for *dharma* against tempting expediency and materialism, but who were, for the time, overwhelmed by his magnetic power over the masses, and who now openly lead men along the path wherein faith rests on matter and not on spirit. In Vedaratnam —let me strike a personal note—I have lost one who was a blood brother in political life as far as dear Tamilnad was concerned, one whose faith and courage never failed him in his support to me. When I revolted now, his heart was with me, but he saw how Himalayan was the task I undertook and all my present handicaps. He thought it best to stay where he was, hoping against hope, and I let him be. Vedaranyam is a lasting monument for Vedaratnam, if monuments can make up for the great reality of death!

September 2, 1961 *Swarajya*

BORROWINGS FROM ABROAD

THE able Washington columnist of *The New Leader,* Mr. Tristram Coffin wrote revealingly about American feeling in the middle of July when the Berlin crisis had assumed its worst complexion. He wrote that there was a new mood of bellicosity in the mind of the average American. "In the casual conversation of hundreds of officials, onlookers and correspondents," he saw that the pressures on the Administration to fight will be irresistible if Moscow gets tough over West Berlin. And Mr. Tristram Coffin observed : "There is a violence latent in the American people ; when we become angry we use our fists or kick or slap. This is something that the USSR for all its elaborate intelligence system, does not understand."

Whether this is just bluff or correct analysis, Mr. Tristram Coffin proceeds thereafter to give good advice to his people. He agrees with Senator Fulbright that the call for a hard policy was a dangerous doctrine.

Senator Fulbright's words are worthy of being repeated for their value for all nations. "The fact is that our greatest strength, indeed our greatest asset in the struggle—is that ours is a permissive system, challenged by one that is totalitarian. Our system guarantees certain basic rights to the individual, and it is these that have made the United States the focus of man's best hope of a way of life that is consistent with his quest for freedom and dignity. It is not our affluence that grips the imagination of others. Rather, it is the value not only of liberty and individual freedom, but also of international peace, law and order, and constructive social purpose. When we depart from these values, we do so at our peril. If we are faithful to our own values, while following an intelligent, courageous and consistent line or policy, we are likely to find a high measure of the support

we seek abroad. But if we fail our own values and ideals, ultimately we shall have failed ourselves."

Great words these and of more general application than for American policy only. The policies and promises of the communists are being copied, for instance, in India by the ruling party in order to beat the communists at their own game. This competition is a fatal policy. Success gained that way will prove itself at the end to be a Dead Sea fruit. We must be true to the spirit of India and the ideals of Gandhiji if we desire true happiness for all our people. Happiness does not consist in a statistical show. And if the statistical show is built on borrowings from the nations of the earth sums we can never repay, we shall soon see what a vanity fair it all is.

The Government has now borrowed nearly Rs. 4,000 crores from nations abroad. Mr. Masani recalled recently in Parliament that when Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was setting up his national planning committee in 1939, Gandhiji in his letter to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur described what he thought about it : "The whole of his planning is a waste of effort. He cannot be satisfied with anything that is not big". The notion that we should imagine we are at war with the whole world and under siege and we should therefore industrialize our country, so that we may be self-sufficient whatever be the cost of such independence, is imitation without purpose, in a world which is more and more becoming one and inter-dependent.

There is an amusing but very relevant passage in Thackeray :

> He lived comfortably on credit. He had a large capital of debts, which, laid out judiciously, will carry a man along for many years. "My dear fellow," I heard Jack once say, "I owe money in every capital in Europe."

Arithmetic is a science common to all affairs, individual, family or national.

I may wind up quoting a sentence from what I wrote in December 1958 in the *Asia Monthly* : " It is as true in politics as in other matters that the best and safest course is to follow *swadharma,* one's own philosophy of life—and not to adopt another's *dharma,* however attractive it may be at the moment."

September 9, 1961 *Swarajya*

AT WHAT COST ?

PROFESSOR B. R. Shenoy has, in the course of an illuminating article on the Third Plan in *Mysindia,* given a few instances of the high cost of production in India against much cheaper world prices. We produce fertilizers in Sindri, the ex-factory price of which is higher than the landed cost of imported fertilizers. We produce at Pimpri penicillin to be sold at Rs. 1.25, whereas imported penicillin is 10 nP per million units, that is, we must pay more than ten times the price at which the imported drug could be supplied. We make refrigerators to be bought at Rs. 2,250, while a comparable U.K. unit would cost only Rs. 1,000. We must all buy our sugar at Rs. 700 per ton in India, the world price being Rs. 400 per ton and we export and sell our surplus sugar abroad at considerable loss. These are instances. The point is what Mr. Masani exposed in his speech, viz., megalomania—what Gandhiji described as Mr. Nehru's weakness for big things—leads us to manufacture in India what can be and are made elsewhere more easily and more inexpensively. There is no prospect of reduction of cost in the future which may justify such undertakings. This is not patriotism. If we disregard the law of division of labour in a unitary world, in our ambition to do everything that everybody does and call prudence by the names of 'reaction' and 'backwardness', we arrive at taxation and yet heavier taxation and a lowering of standards of life. I wrote so recently and it bears repetition.

September 9, 1961 *Swarajya*

BERLIN CRISIS

THE thesis that was recently enunciated in New Delhi that Germany may be definitely divided into two distinct States and dealt with on that basis does not seem to have any chance with the German people. And without the co-operation of the German people no international thesis about them has any practical value. The Mayor of West Berlin, Willy Brandt, has expressed his views on the Berlin situation in the course of which he puts the German feeling in unequivocal terms : "It is a dangerous delusion to think that love of their country and the yearning for national reunification can be torn out of the German people's hearts". The two-States-thesis propounded by Mr. Nehru is essentially pro-Khrushchovian and ignores the problems of Berlin city situated in the interior of East Germany. "Freedom-loving forces in my country," says the Berlin Mayor, "have woven the demand for national reunification into the fabric of their banners."

Willy Brandt puts his conviction in blunt language about the treaty with East Germany which Khrushchov has notified. "Khrushchov will not serve the peace by signing a separate peace treaty. Until my country is united, my people will know no rest."

To appear in any manner to ratify the division into two Germanys comes to this—that the German communists who had taken refuge in the Soviet Union and returned in the wake of the victorious Red Army, may be given a territorial share in Germany, that the land be divided into two States on the basis of political dogma, although the people are one. Willy Brandt's exposition leaves no room for doubt as to the untenability of this thesis of partition of land on the basis of dogma.

September 9, 1961 *Swarajya*

IMITATING THE BIG POWERS

WITH evident pride and gratification Mr. Nehru informed the Upper House on Wednesday (23rd August) of the great step forward in civilization which the Defence scientists of India had taken. They have successfully experimented with guided missiles. We are, therefore, not behindhand. We are well on the road!

It is comforting to read in the same report of his speech that our Prime Minister publicly rebuked the cold war Powers for moving about troops and issuing minatory statements on the Berlin problem, instead of getting together and discussing things as they should. Here is indeed non-alignment of ideas in addition to non-alignment in the cold war.

Our Prime Minister's statements on the Berlin situation have created a stir in America but it appears an omnibus assurance given to the American Ambassador may stay the unrest.

September 9, 1961 *Swarajya*

SIR THOMAS MUNRO

I am in love with Sir Thomas Munro who lived and died two centuries ago. Probably because all that I read of his manners and his humour made me think he must have been very much like my dear John Guthrie Tait who was my teacher for English and whose father was the eminent physicist of Edinburgh. Whenever any young Civil Servants came to me for blessings or when I spoke to them in their training school, I advised them to read about Sir Thomas Munro who was an ideal administrator. An Indian biographer of Sir Thomas Munro believes that Thackeray created his Colonel Newcome out of Sir Thomas Munro. When I was Prime Minister of Madras from 1937 until the war broke out, a young Munro served under me as Under Secretary in the Public Department. I did not then know he belonged to the clan Munro. I liked him enormously on account of his splendid work and character. If I had known he was a clansman of the family of Sir Thomas Munro I should have been even fonder of him, although this was not easy. It is his * father, now more than ninety, who asked me through his son for a contribution to the Clan's *Magazine*.

Sir Thomas Munro was one of those exceptionally good and great men who came from Britain to India and spent the best part of their lives in India and left a record of service of which anyone may be proud. He was beloved of the people over whose affairs he was placed. Sir Thomas Munro was unpopular with his fellow officials and other British residents because of his sympathy with the people of the land and his admiration of some of their qualities and ways of life. That has been the case with some other good and important men in British Indian history.

Sir Thomas Munro came to India at the age of 19 as one of the crew in the ship by which he came. He spent forty-seven

* Rev J. Lorimer Munro, Vice-President, Clan Munro Association.

years, practically all his life, in India where he died of cholera at the age of 65. There is a fine equestrian statue of Munro in the centre of the road by the Island ground in Madras City. Munro began as a cadet in the army and he rose to be Governor of Madras and held that office for six years until his death. He was in charge of supplies in the campaigns against Hyder and Tippu. Sir Thomas Munro's advice was sought by the great Duke of Wellington who was then Major General Wellesley fighting the Marathas. Sir Thomas wished very much to be in the fighting fronts, but he was destined to be the administrator and bringer of peace and contentment, which office he fulfilled most splendidly. He was the great initiator of the peasant-wise settlement of land in India. It is his work in this direction and his indefatigable conferences with the peasants and his just and wise administration that have made his name a legend in South India. A recent historian* writes about Sir Thomas Munro : "Munro whose services to the Company for 47 years from 1780 to 1827 constitute a brilliant record of civil as well as military achievement."

Folklore has many stories about Sir Thomas Munro. These stories whether true or exaggerated reflect the people's impression of the man better than any systematic biography can.

Here is a legend which people will not believe but which brings out Sir Thomas Munro's character as the people of the countryside in India saw it. Legends do not grow out of nothing but spring from men's impressions and deep-seated beliefs :

> There is a small village by name Mantsala in Bellary District on the bank of the Tungabhadra. The village is widely known as containing the tomb of the Madhwa saint Sri Raghavendra Swami, the annual festival in August connected with which is attended by large numbers of pilgrims. Hindu tombs of Sanyasis are simple. They are not of any architectural interest. The grant of the landed endowment attached to it is said in one of the Mackenzie MSS. to have been made by Venkanna Pant, the

* R. P. Masani : *Britain in India*, Oxford University Press.

well-known Dewan of Sidi Masand Khan, the Mussalman Governor of Adoni from 1662 to 1687. A quaint story of Munro is told about the place The endowment being threatened with resumption, Munro, it is said, came to make enquiries. After removing his boots and taking off his hat he approached the grave. The spirit of the saint emerged from the tomb and met him. They conversed together for some time regarding the resumption, but though the saint was visible and audible to Munro who was himself, the people declare, semi-divine, none of the others who were there could either see him or hear what the spirit spoke. The discussion ended, Munro returned to his tent and quashed the proposal to resume the endowment. Being offered some consecrated rice, he accepted it and had it used in the preparation of his dinner for that day.—*Madras District Gazetteer*, Vol. 1., p. 213.

Munro's sense of fairness is brought out in his memorandum on the opening of trade with India in February 1813. His clear understanding of Indian condition and sense of fairness to Indian interests are brought out in this Memorandum :

In India almost every article which the inhabitants require is made cheaper and better than in Europe. Among these are all cotton and silk manufactures, leather, paper, domestic utensils of brass and iron, and implements of agriculture. Their coarse woollens, though bad, always keep their ground, from their superior cheapness. Their finer camlets are warmer and more lasting than ours. For centuries India had carried on a maritime trade with other countries but was not induced to import new articles from them. Yet the people suffer from no absolute prejudice. Their prejudices extend only to intoxicating liquors, and certain prohibited kinds of food. In dress and every kind of dissipation but drinking, they are at least our equals. To increase the exports to India, the purchasing capacity of Indians should be improved and their special tastes studied by the manufacturers. The purchasing capacity could be improved by the lightening of taxes. When we relinquish the barbarous system of annual settlements, when we make over the lands either on very long leases or in perpetuity, to the present occupants, and when we have convinced them, by making no assessments above the fixed rent, for a series of years, that they are actually proprietors of the soil, we

> shall see a demand for European articles of which we have at present no conception.

Munro disapproved the unfair tariff by which Indian goods exported to England were subjected to heavier duties than English goods sent to India. "India is the country that has been worst used in the new arrangement. All her products ought undoubtedly to be imported freely into England upon paying the same duties, and no more, which English products pay in India. When I see what is done in Parliament against India, I think I am reading about Edward III and the Flemings."

As we read these extracts from Sir Thomas Munro's memorandum we in India realize that in some respects we were more truly independent in those days than now when we are politically independent and are a republic indebted in thousands of crores of rupees to America, Britain, Germany, Russia and Japan.

India is free from British control now. But the respect and friendship between India and Britain is a lasting bond. Sir Thomas Munro contributed not a little to this two centuries ago when the British were establishing themselves in India, by his honest and conscientious discharge of the duties entrusted to him and by his humanitarian and broad understanding free from prejudices of any kind. In a minute of December 31, 1824, he wrote :

> What is to be the final result of all our arrangements on the character of the people ? Is it to be raised or is it to be lowered ? Are we to be satisfied with merely securing power and protecting the inhabitants, leaving them to sink gradually in character lower than at present ; or are we to endeavour to raise their character, and to render them worthy of filling higher situation in the management of their country, and of devising plans for its improvement ? It ought undoubtedly to be our aim to raise the minds of the Indian people, and to take care that, whenever our connection with India might cease, it did not appear that the only fruit of our dominion there had been to leave the people more abject and less able to govern themselves than when we found them.

WHO ULTIMATELY PAYS?

THERE is a comforting illusion which prevails that the burden of taxation stays where it is placed. The sooner this fallacious assumption is dispelled, the better for a proper understanding of the effect of policies. People are deluded to believe that a government which 'taxes the rich' is favouring the poor and the middle classes. A little thinking is enough to disprove this false notion greatly encouraged by political parties depending for their strength on class-conflict.

Almost all taxes, be they customs duties on machinery or parts or raw materials imported, and all duties of excise which appear to impinge on the manufacturing and commercial community, obviously go into the price of the articles sold to the consumers. These pay the taxes ultimately through the price charged and recoup the first taxpayer. This is obvious. What is not so obvious but which is equally true and important is that all direct taxation on the industrially and commercially employed rich works itself into the cost of production negatively into the scheme of profit and incentive at the base of production, and finally it enters into the price of the articles sold to the consuming public. Like water which finds the lowest level, taxes are all, or almost all, transferred down until the burden falls on the consumer.

Even when the taxes are on articles of comparative luxury which are consumed by the directors and high-grade staff of business organizations, the circumstance is necessarily taken into account when settling their allowances and salaries. These are of course added to the cost of production and nobody can question such addition. Ultimately, therefore, these too fall on the consumer. The income-tax on money-lenders raises the rate of interest on loans as surely as the price of cotton affects the price of cloth.

It is thus an illusion to think that taxes on the rich are taxes on the rich only, and not on the poor. Whether the donkey carries the load on its own back or the rider carries it on his head, ultimately the donkey it is that bears the whole burden.

September 16, 1961 *Swarajya*

LOST MORAL POWER

Both sides of the cold war are now seeking to induce the public to believe that experiments in what they call 'outer space' and explosions underground are a class apart and not harmful, and that the world may remain contented if no test explosions take place within the earth's atmosphere. This is not very different from the filtered cigarette smoking which the tobacco interests recommend as safe against cancer. Radio-active carbon and strontium will not be attracted away to other planets or converted into nothingness simply because they are generated 160 miles or 200 miles from off the surface of the earth. One hundred and sixty miles is much nearer to the earth's surface than to any other gravitational field. Even as Gagarin came back to earth after rotating round for some time, so will the strontium and carbon poison surely and inevitably come back to the earth where the poison was conceived and planned. The difference is only one of time, that is, whether we and our children or our grand-children, or their children and grand-children should suffer. If the consideration is humanity and not present military deterrence, it makes no difference whether the explosions are in the atmosphere or in 'outer space', as 160 miles off is grandiloquently called 'in a celestial sphere' which light takes millions of years to travel across.

The issue is not one of science; for science has left us in no doubt as to the certainty of mischief. The problem is how

to get the nuclear Powers under control and make them answerable to damage threatened or caused to the uninvolved world; how men engaged in the competition of technological advance can be prevented from indulging in grave crime. Mr. Nehru went to Moscow to represent the case on behalf of those not involved in the cold war. But he was so taken up with the grandeur of the achievements of Russia that he nearly forgot his mission. He has returned happy with a Peak-Nehru round his neck and nothing about what he went for. Perhaps he had perforce to reconcile himself to this emptiness and put up a good face on it.

Dr. Pauling and Dr. Bernal can, if they please, offer more authoritative opinions on this matter. But there seems little doubt that we are in for a lot of deception at the hands of frightened war-mongers and their hired experts. If man from earth handles experiments in 'outer space', the poison generated there will certainly be in a position to affect man, the distance down being no more than the distance up. Of course Truman can make light of all this 'hooey'; the man who exploded the first atomic bomb over Hiroshima is qualified to do it.

New York scientists have measured and found that radioactivity in the United States has increased sixty-fold after the recent Soviet test-explosions. But these scientists assure their people that they are still only at three microcuries whereas the danger level is 100 microcuries. When one is in hopeless debt for three dollars he is sought to be comforted by being told that he will go into the *Gazette* only when his debt reaches 100 dollars. After that point is reached, of course, there is no hope of return or reform and civilization must wind up.

Dr. Teller, the American 'father' of the hydrogen bomb, believes and confesses that Soviet Russia is 'far ahead' of the United States in nuclear development. His statement reads almost definitely like admitting that the Soviet achievements can never be overtaken. But apart from their relative achievements,

between them two we the rest of the world are not far behind the point of total annihilation, as honest old Bertrand Russell has said. Dr. Teller exhorts his people in no uncertain terms not to be deterred from a full nuclear test programme by reason of fall-out dangers. "Our concern is the question of war or peace or survival itself. In the face of such questions, the matter of fall-out is not important"—words which Americans can undestand perhaps, but not those who are outside America and Russia but who still wish to survive as human beings. Dr. Teller's appeal amounts to this, that America should make up her mind to poison the whole world in order that she may energetically run an admittedly hopeless race with Russia in the nuclear programme. Of course this necessarily means a further countervailing spurt in the Russian programme of poisoning humanity. All the wisdom of peace-loving and civilized humanity must concentrate itself now on how to reduce the insane bullies of the world to orderly and lawful behaviour.

The rulers of the uninvolved world are, on the other hand, in such an insane hurry to borrow from and be obliged to the very same bullies, one or the other or both, that they have hopelessly lost all power to influence them. Mr. Nehru loaded with dollars and roubles can but poise himself deftly on the rope of neutralism. He cannot command when he has so greatly to depend.

And what for is he in this dependent pass? For 'progress' and 'material advance'—when the total advance is, according to all signs, towards inevitable annihilation. If Gandhi had been alive, would he have approved of this shortsighted, blind and abject dependence on the very criminals who are conspiring in world annihilation? He would have kept India out of that folly and spoken as one with authority and commanded where now we smile for further favours, as a broken down, condemned prisoner foolishly asks for a drink or a cake before going to his end.

We are now interested in peace in a new and sordid sense—not because peace is good and we hate war, but because the

promised and beseeched aids in billions, 32 billions or more, to make our Plans real cannot arrive if war breaks out. In that event the Plans would topple down in a hopeless mess, like a house of cards. We have now developed a concrete vested interest in peace, different from the old Gandhian disinterested interest. One might ask what difference does it make? Indeed there is great difference, all the difference that there is between creed and policy, the difference there is between honest honesty and honesty as policy. The voice of moral authority is different from the plea of borrowers. The voice of a Jesus Christ or a Gandhi or a Tagore is different from an appeal for peace by the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. "You are after saving your development plans, but we must fight for very existence," the West would be inclined to say in answer to such an appeal.

September 23, 1961 *Swarajya*

INTEGRATION PROGRAMMES

National disintegration and the opposite of it, national integration, are not brought about or affected by committees, however high-powered, sitting for a couple of days' debate. Either the one or the other is the result of policies pursued by the government of the day over a long period, covering many fields of national affairs, not perhaps obviously connected with integration or disintegration but all the same deeply affecting the same. Sometimes, more often than not, policies are well-intentioned but produce a disintegrating reaction, and a reversal of such policies is made difficult on account of the lapse of time and the vested interests created by them. But all the same such reversal is necessary to undo the mischief.

Prominent among many policies which the ruling party has been pursuing is its policy regarding languages in all its ramifi-

cations. It was an evil day when India was divided into States according to the majority language in each area. The difficulties and objections in the way of this linguistic re-ordering of States were many, but the principle was relentlessly put into execution and many sacrifices were made for the purpose. Great old provinces were cut up, natural synthesis was cruelly stopped, and isolation and chauvinism, communal in reality but putting on the cloak of language took possession of people's minds, in the end overwhelming the whole country. A continent that was fast becoming one, has become (to use a geographical term) an archipelago of islands. Each island holds big minorities who are treated more or less as undesirable fifth columnists by the dominant section. An atmosphere of oppression and suppressed ill-will pervades where formerly people were coming together in steady synthesis.

The language problem has, in another aspect also, added to the disintegration. A curious mania has seized the minds of the Hindi-speaking sections, that they are India and India is theirs, and the rest are exceptions to be provided for somehow; English must go and Hindi take its place. If people accepted English before Independence, it must be easy enough for them to accept Hindi now—this has become the slogan of the Hindi or near-Hindi people. The non-Hindi people react towards this attempt, exactly as everyone had felt during the freedom struggle towards Englishmen. The expression 'Hindi imperialism' has come into vogue to describe the reaction. The best minds of India see the danger, but they dare not oppose what is equated with patriotism.

As a corollary to the imposition of Hindi, came the imposition of regional languages in each State, which aggravated problems both in civic affairs and in the educational field. The theory of education through the mother-tongue instead of being constructively adopted became an anti-English slogan, with the result that the mobility of educated youth will come to a dead stop and universities invaded by pseudo-patriotism are threatened with

total isolation from one another by reason of the substitution of several local languages for the English medium. University education united the elite of India into one unit. But now this is being undone. It is this last development that has served to open the eyes of statesmen to the impending dangers.

The talk against communalism and castes instead of serving to wipe out communal and caste distinctions serves only to give full licence to the majority to indulge in its communalism and caste-ism and the minorities everywhere are adjudged guilty of the 'ism whenever they seek to save their natural rights against the domination of the majority. What the Congress Party *does* speaks louder than its *preaching*. Communalism is at the root of all the decisions of the Congress Party in administration as well as in party work.

The attitude of the ruling political party has added a new element of disintegration to which it is necessary to refer here. Instead of allowing and encouraging a natural synthesis of castes and communities in a developing continent, the coming together is directed to be brought about through political affiliation to the Congress and through that means alone. The result is that instead of caste-ism disappearing, a new and worse caste has been created—the caste of the ruling party. With the power exercised by that party in the socialistic pattern, that is, with power to make or mar men in all economic, industrial and other business activities of individual citizens, this new caste has come to be a worse type of the old feudal tyrannies and caste dominations. Castes may disappear but this new Congress caste will grow in strength as all national activities are sought to be brought under government control. Corruption and disintegration are the natural corollaries of this domination of a new caste.

As faith in non-violence has faded away among congressmen yielding place to totalitarian reliance on the various compulsions of the State, centralization is resorted to as a remedy for disintegration. Centralized authority is not a cure for the fissiparous

tendencies generated by the ruling party's policies any more than physical chastisement is a cure for deficiency in memory or mathematics. Of course, centralized totalitarianism when accomplished leaves no room for any fissiparous activity. But that is a scheme of life based on compulsion to which we have not yet given explicit consent. A corpse suffers from no headache or malaria. It is only living men that suffer diseases. To kill is no remedy for the ills of the body or the mind.

It is not easy to undo the linguistic reorganization of the States. So many vested and strongly entrenched interests will be against it. But something will have to be done to undo the evil results. The first and most far-reaching step would be a firm assurance in respect of the continuance of English as the medium of higher education and of all official work with full facilities for the public to be in touch with government through translations as in the British days. This is the first step that is called for most urgently. If this is done, leaving no room for equivocation or doubt, a great deal will have been achieved. Many of the disintegrating forces will fade away as a result.

September 23, 1961 *Swarajya*

SPEAKING IN TWO VOICES

Mr. H. V. R. Iengar's statement at the International Industrial Conference at San Francisco on September 12, is an interesting example of how India could speak in two voices, one for the dollar empire and another for the Soviet socialist empire. The Governor of the Reserve Bank of India did his best to make out that India was not really socialist but was more than ninety per cent a free enterprise country with bright prospects of progress in the American way of competitive production. He made it

plain however that the success of the monetary and fiscal policies of the Government of India depended "to a major extent" on the availability of external assistance of the order of 32 billions. He could not at that conference talk loosely as our politicians can do in India about how the loans could be returned. They could be discharged only by suitable exports and by "competitive ability in world markets on the basis of quality of goods and their price". He admitted "as a late comer in the export field for diversified manufactured goods, India will find her task difficult". He later sank into the politician's vague talk and said "the debt looks burdensome as of now and for some years to come, but with the growth of the economy, India's ability to service the debt will also steadily rise and over a period the problem should not prove intractable". He assured the American audience that "Government enterprises accounted for hardly one-sixth of the total output in India and that even at the end of the Third Plan, it would not be more than a fourth". All these assurances of non-socialistic conditions will however have to be weighed against the news and propaganda issuing from Moscow about the Khrushchov-Nehru mutual congratulations. The double voice may appear successful for a time, but ultimately there is danger of its being scanned and the results will be unfortunate.

September 23, 1961 *Swarajya*

BELATED OFFER

I cannot explain why, but it is most depressing for the Free World to read that a 'cabinet-level' group has been set up by President Kennedy to draft a programme for waging psychological and political warfare. This step is based on an explicit admission that the communists have been able somehow to repress unfavourable reaction against them and to dominate the

news as they chose "with demonstrations that seem spontaneous". Whatever the last words may mean, this confession followed by the setting up of a Cabinet-level committee to cope with Russian success in propaganda is a most melancholy event. It does not appear to have suggested itself to American statesmen that there may be something to be righted beyond mere psychology or brain-washing. Bertrand Russell, for instance, has pointed out in his recent letter to *The New Statesman* that America's present offer to Khrushchov is deplorably belated and that America should have agreed promptly when the very same terms were offered by Russia long ago. Surely Bertrand Russell has not been the victim of any brain-washing that can be cured by counter-magic. Even now, had the USA not got frightened but manfully abstained from tests of any sort in spite of the deliberate Russian breach of the moratorium, it would have been a far more effective move than any that the new Cabinet-level committee could devise by way of black or white magic.

September 23, 1961 *Swarajya*

MISUSE OF OFFICIAL STATUS

"The Centre has cautioned the State governments against the misuse of jeeps by Community Development blocks for political and private purposes. They should not, while touring in government jeeps, combine official and election work." This is from a hand-out from New Delhi. The warning proves the prevalence of the irregularity which is a mild term for misappropriation of public funds and misuse of official status. The warning is hypocritical from top to bottom. The whole scheme of setting up local administrative units and furnishing them with vehicles and other conveniences, putting local Congress agents in practically supreme charge of these units, was for the very purpose now formally deprecated, viz, to utilize the State machinery

for the coming elections. The Centre's 'warning' cannot serve to whitewash what is going on in full swing in the public eye but it may save the High Command from public blame. No one with eyes to see will fail to realize that this prohibition will not be carried out. It is like asking and helping men to chew but telling them to be careful not to swallow. It is not tobacco but Parry's sweets. The transfer of Congress Committee-work to these panchayats and block development units has been completed just before the general elections. The distinction between Congress work and Congress funds and State work and State resources, between Congress flag and State flag, have all been wiped out. Hypocritical orders and directions will not deceive anyone, much less obeyed even if they were intended to be obeyed. The chief ministers and their colleagues set the example for constant touring for election propaganda covering villages with all the pomp, public expense and paraphernalia of their official status. The voters of Indian democracy are systematically drilled to identify the ruling party with the State. No honest man in the Congress camp would deny this, though he might try to explain it or expatiate on the difficulty of making fine distinctions.

September 23, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE CONGRESS MANIFESTO

After fifteen years of total economic, political and spiritual power over the people of India, unparalleled in the history of this country, the Congress Party has issued its apologies, and put forward promises in a sixty-six hundred word document asking for a further lease of power. The daily papers have not grudged the space and published it at full length.

Those who can read not only what is printed but also between the lines can see how greatly the Congress Party has

unwillingly been affected by the emergence of the Swatantra Party. It has reconciled itself to a restrained and apologetic tone. The document would have been quite a different one had the Swatantra Party not been born. The birth and activities of the Swatantra Party have been fully justified.

We are told that the policy of the Congress Party is to "offer equal opportunity to every citizen". These words are a mockery in the light of what is going on. Everyone who knows and has suffered by reason of the permit-licence-quota-raj knows how instead of equal opportunity to every citizen, the ruling party has revelled in creating unequal opportunities. The main objection of the Swatantra Party to the Congress is this—that the policies of the Congress Party do *not* give equal opportunity to every citizen, but furnish means to favoured individuals to get rich, and get rich easily and quickly.

It is claimed that the aim of the Congress Party is to build up a "self-sustaining and self-generating economy". These words, too, are a mockery even like the claim just before dealt with. Borrowing as the Congress Government has been doing on a monstrous scale from all the governments of the world, severally as well as jointly, and proposing to go on doing it, there is no sense in the party talking about a self-sustaining economy. Taking advantage of the political situation generated by the cold war, the ruling party has indulged in gigantic borrowing, and reduced India to the position of a hopeless debtor, as the Governor of the Reserve Bank all but confessed recently in America. With this staring in the face, how can the ruling party talk of a self-sustaining and a self-generating economy? There can be no independence where one enters into debts about which not even a plausible scheme of repayment has been announced. Apart from repayment, even maintaining appearances by regular payment of interest will soon become difficult, if not impossible. The limitations of our resources, the demands both for defence and maintenance of decent civil life, and the feeble export potentialities of the country, especially in the

matter of exports to the highly industrialized nations from whom the borrowing is being done, make it impossible to make both ends meet except by an unthinkable degree of oppressive taxation and inflation.

The whole scheme of this "self-sustaining and self-generating economy" rests on the double presumption of (1) the unabated continuance of the cold war in order that the motives for foreign aid may be kept up and (2) the avoidance by the Powers of an outburst of hostilities. If war breaks out, this "self-generating and self-sustaining" scheme which depends on continued and promptly delivered external assistance will go into smoke. At the same time our dependence on the cold war prevents us from offering anything better than hypocritical prayers to the gods that international hatred and suspicion, and the consequent armaments race, may come to a stop. When all is said and done, it is this hatred and suspicion that enables us to get the assistance we are getting, in spite of the opposition of powerful sections in America, Germany and elsewhere.

The Congress Party's manifesto says the party stands for a new social order that "preserves the worth and dignity of the individual". Nothing can beat the falsehood of this claim. Apart from what the socialist pattern means—which is the opposite of the freedom or the worth or the dignity of the individual—the experience of tens of thousands of honest men in India under the Congress regime is that the worth and dignity of the individual have been cruelly sacrificed at the altar of the authority of ministers and officials of the State and the unsalaried go-betweens (a new tribe which has come into being). Never was there such widespread corruption as now prevails and never were industrious, honest citizens compelled to dance attendance and bow before officials, petty as well as big, as now they do.

There is reference in the manifesto to the need for preventing the growth of monopolies and the concentration of economic power, a mere cliche without present relevance. It is a tragic

unwillingly been affected by the emergence of the Swatantra Party. It has reconciled itself to a restrained and apologetic tone. The document would have been quite a different one had the Swatantra Party not been born. The birth and activities of the Swatantra Party have been fully justified.

We are told that the policy of the Congress Party is to "offer equal opportunity to every citizen". These words are a mockery in the light of what is going on. Everyone who knows and has suffered by reason of the permit-licence-quota-raj knows how instead of equal opportunity to every citizen, the ruling party has revelled in creating unequal opportunities. The main objection of the Swatantra Party to the Congress is this—that the policies of the Congress Party do *not* give equal opportunity to every citizen, but furnish means to favoured individuals to get rich, and get rich easily and quickly.

It is claimed that the aim of the Congress Party is to build up a "self-sustaining and self-generating economy". These words, too, are a mockery even like the claim just before dealt with. Borrowing as the Congress Government has been doing on a monstrous scale from all the governments of the world, severally as well as jointly, and proposing to go on doing it, there is no sense in the party talking about a self-sustaining economy. Taking advantage of the political situation generated by the cold war, the ruling party has indulged in gigantic borrowing, and reduced India to the position of a hopeless debtor, as the Governor of the Reserve Bank all but confessed recently in America. With this staring in the face, how can the ruling party talk of a self-sustaining and a self-generating economy? There can be no independence where one enters into debts about which not even a plausible scheme of repayment has been announced. Apart from repayment, even maintaining appearances by regular payment of interest will soon become difficult, if not impossible. The limitations of our resources, the demands both for defence and maintenance of decent civil life, and the feeble export potentialities of the country, especially in the

matter of exports to the highly industrialized nations from whom the borrowing is being done, make it impossible to make both ends meet except by an unthinkable degree of oppressive taxation and inflation.

The whole scheme of this "self-sustaining and self-generating economy" rests on the double presumption of (1) the unabated continuance of the cold war in order that the motives for foreign aid may be kept up and (2) the avoidance by the Powers of an outburst of hostilities. If war breaks out, this "self-generating and self-sustaining" scheme which depends on continued and promptly delivered external assistance will go into smoke. At the same time our dependence on the cold war prevents us from offering anything better than hypocritical prayers to the gods that international hatred and suspicion, and the consequent armaments race, may come to a stop. When all is said and done, it is this hatred and suspicion that enables us to get the assistance we are getting, in spite of the opposition of powerful sections in America, Germany and elsewhere.

The Congress Party's manifesto says the party stands for a new social order that "preserves the worth and dignity of the individual". Nothing can beat the falsehood of this claim. Apart from what the socialist pattern means—which is the opposite of the freedom or the worth or the dignity of the individual—the experience of tens of thousands of honest men in India under the Congress regime is that the worth and dignity of the individual have been cruelly sacrificed at the altar of the authority of ministers and officials of the State and the unsalaried go-betweens (a new tribe which has come into being). Never was there such widespread corruption as now prevails and never were industrious, honest citizens compelled to dance attendance and bow before officials, petty as well as big, as now they do.

There is reference in the manifesto to the need for preventing the growth of monopolies and the concentration of economic power, a mere cliche without present relevance. It is a tragic

fact, on the other hand, that it is the policies of the Congress Party that have brought into being various forms of these very evils. Unearned monopolies are being created by favouritism instead of by the power of capital or by success in competition. The concentration of all economic power in the State has resulted, and will continue to result in increasing measure, in the massing of all power in the hands of officials, and official and semi-official organizations functioning as agencies of the State—ultimately taking inevitable shape in the tyranny of certain individuals, worse than the tyranny of any feudalist system of the old days. The concentration of power in the State and its agencies is bound to kill the soul of the citizen and, with it, dry up his energy and the sources of true happiness.

We are told that the Congress Party will equalize urban incomes through taxation. The argument is that the Congress regime does not indulge in oppressive taxation for the sake of the money but only because the government aims at removing disparities ! All taxation, wherever it is imposed, presses down as an increase of the burden to be borne by the consumers at the lowest level. It does not remove disparities. It increases it, as we have already experienced.

As for inflation and soaring prices, there is nothing in the manifesto to instil confidence. On the contrary, there is ample notice of a greater measure of these evils being in store for the people if we return this party to power again.

There are unambiguous hints about restrictions on consumption and limitations on income. Consciously or unconsciously, the ruling party is preparing the country for full-blooded communism. It is not merely a coincidence that the Soviet space pilot Gagarin comes to India now. His visit is an omen.

As an important daily has remarked, "there will be no tendency to take the Congress manifesto too seriously or much less to be disillusioned by it". If the Congress is to be sup-

ported, not because it is approved, but because it is thought that there is no other party which has proved strong enough to replace it, democracy in India will have indeed no future. A beginning has to be made and the fortress has to be breached. Otherwise, entrenched in the deep trenches of a welfare economy, the ruling party can and will continue in power until we have naked communism. To surrender to the Congress because it has entrenched itself in authority, and can overwhelm all opposition by money secured through that power, would be 'treason to the future', to use the words of Dag Hammarskjoeld. Tasks may appear difficult or even hopeless, but loyalty to the future demands that the Congress must be opposed. The last scene in one of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*—Gareth and Lynette—where the monster whom Gareth had to fight looked terrible and unconquerable, but who, when exposed and the *maya* was broken, proved to be anything but terrible and was vanquished, must inspire us with courage. *Satyam* must win provided those who carry the banner remain brave.

September 30, 1961. *Swarajya*

NEHRU OBJECTS TO DONATIONS

ALL the high and ascetic talk of the Prime Minister about funds donated to the Congress by rich companies is unimpressive. It is obvious that he is disturbed by the little help the Swatantra Party is getting from some few people. Having insured big donations for his own party, he spouts abstract cliches about his objections to taking any big money from these rich people. Why did his party vigorously oppose the motion pressed in Parliament by all the other parties that companies should not be allowed to donate shareholders' money to political parties? What about the Rs. 20 lakhs given in one single gift by one Birla company? What about the pressing demands his agents are making all over

the country, even while he is declaiming after receiving his purses at Kanpur? A man's deeds speak louder than all the texts he may quote from holy scripture.

Let him hand back or hand over to the Exchequer all the moneys already received and forbid further collections by his party, public and secret, from rich people, bus fleet owners and permit-holders and others of that tribe. I shall respond to that challenge suitably. Democracy would be saved from being overwhelmed by corruption and the weight of bad money. Brave words we are familiar with; indeed, we are tired of them. I have no doubt Mr. Nehru feels all that he says, but he has another man within him: other than the man that feels and speaks these noble things, and it is that man that heads the party, and he will not, alas, get rid of him but sees that he abets every party abuse.

There was an old man who married a third time against the advice of all the village folk, for the two wives already married were alive. The old man learnt young men visited his house when he was there and also when he was not there. The man then began to preach *brahmacharya*—and the villagers laughed.

September 30, 1961. *Swarajya*

THE FLY IN THE PHIAL

I do hope the Hindustan Antibiotics at Pimpri (a government public sector concern) will be able to get over the dead fly in the streptodicin supplied by it. The Bombay doctor who discovered and promptly complained about it has done public service. So also may we be grateful to the dead fly for not completely disintegrating and disappearing in the vial but surviving to give

evidence ! It is stupid to ban imports of the life-saving drugs of our century in order to boost swadeshi. I remember the head of the Haffkine Institute arguing stubbornly with me in 1946 for starting the manufacturing of sulpha and other drugs in order to give them all at remarkably cheap prices. He talked about giving these life-saving drugs for half-an-anna against one rupee that we were paying to foreign companies. I argued against the proposal with the expert about necessary ingredients to be got from abroad and other matters but to no avail. Antibiotics are now manufactured at Pimpri and doctors must use them willy-nilly. Prices have not gone down but gone up and quality is protected against any competition. And here is the fly-incident. I know that most eminent doctors would prefer foreign ampoules to Indian-made ones. Swadeshi can be carried to stupid limits like every other good idea.

It is not only when an actual dead fly is found in a phial that we should discard the drug prepared at an institute ; not only should that batch of vials be withdrawn, the institute as a whole must stand suspect and put under inspection and reform. Bacteriological contamination is not seen by the eye and should be presumed in the institute, when a glaring case comes to light by a lucky or unlucky accident. The Pimpri fly in the phial is only a second warning. The first warning was given by the death of an M.P. following an injection of Pimpri penicillin.

The defence offered by Pimpri is that ninety per cent of the vials of the same batch have been consumed without reports of any untoward reactions. It is often the case that what is caused by the drug administered gets mixed up with the symptoms of the malady for which the drug is administered. Moreover, the natural defence in the human organism is remarkably strong and withstands a lot. A private concern would have been damned beyond redemption by the fly in the vial. Science ought to make no distinctions in favour of the public sector.

September 30, 1961. *Swarajya*

SYMBOL RECOGNIZED

It is a matter for gratification that the Election Commissioner has at last given the Swatantra Party recognition and its reserved symbol the five-pointed star, as desired by us.

In Bihar, for this year, the Swatantra Party's symbol at the polls will be the bicycle as desired by the Bihar branch of the party.

It is also a matter for gratification that affairs in Bihar have been satisfactorily settled and the Janata Party has been formally and finally wound up, its merger in the Swatantra Party being completed and notified, although (as stated earlier) the bicycle will be the Swatantra Party's symbol for the 1962 elections in that State.

The impossible test of securing three per cent votes at the previous election, which was sought to be put against the Swatantra Party, has been withdrawn and the party status recognized. The Election Commissioner has done justice and the Swatantra Party is grateful to him. As a corollary of the recognition of the Swatantra Party, it will be entitled to the usual free copies of the electoral rolls in the six States wherein a reserved symbol is allotted to it, viz., Andhra, Bihar, Madras, U.P., Gujarat and Himachal. These free copies should in fairness be supplied in the other States also inasmuch as the Swatantra Party has been recognized and its preferential claim for the five-pointed star symbol expressly provided for even in the other States.

September 30, 1961 *Swarajya*

APPEAL TO AKALI DAL

MR. Nehru has 'clarified' or 'explained' the remarks which he made amidst laughter about Tara Singh's capacity to fast indefinitely. The scoffing may remove the least little chance there is for Tara Singh to be induced by his co-workers to give up his plan to die. The Akali Dal must ponder courageously in the presence of their Granth Sahib, whether it is worth while to allow Tara Singh to die in fear of scoffers and for the sake of a cause which, in the realist sense, comes to the claim of a glorified local body to be re-demarcated. The entire boundary policy, based on language and its evil consequences, must be reconsidered some day and India set on its legs once again, and proper administrative decentralization organized. Tara Singh did not undertake a fast at the bidding of others or as a response to any challenge. It was his own decision, and he and his conscience must be the sole tribunal to decide what he should do at present having regard to all the circumstances. Scoffing has been borne by all the great men of the world—death will not put an end to it. The Sikh leaders must prayerfully decide, without fear of man or his cavil.

September 30, 1961. *Swarajya*

PRIVILEGES OF LEGISLATORS

It is gratifying to read the very sensible and just statement made by Mr. C. Subramaniam in respect of breach of privilege motions brought up by members of the legislatures. It is hoped that this minister's statement is accepted as good and valid advice by Parliament and all local legislatures.

The statement of the Leader of the Madras Legislative Assembly is, however, restricted to the rights of fair criticism that belong to the press. The principle enunciated by him really applies to all criticism of men engaged in public affairs. If a *newspaper is to be privileged to make its criticism* and circulate it among a hundred thousand readers, surely an individual citizen should also be exempt from being hauled up before a tribunal combining the offices of judge, witness and prosecutor in itself, when the offending criticism is limited in circulation. The real principle is that the archaic procedure of courts of record and of legislatures to protect their dignity must be restricted severely to rare cases and not used as an easy means of punishment for everything that hurts the sense of self-importance of individuals in a favoured position, or for avoiding the usual means of vindication of justice in the ordinary courts where the person accused has full opportunities for obtaining impartial judgment and for appealing against an erroneous verdict.

The limit is reached indeed when, as in a recently reported Bihar case, a member seeks to make out a case of breach of privilege for a communication of a member of a political party to the chief of his party organization made by way of explanation for his own conduct. The internal correspondence of a party cannot surely be made the ground for the cheap and easy procedure of privilege motions instead of a challenge in the ordinary courts for a libel, if there be one.

September 30, 1961 *Swarajya*

SWATANTRA PARTY'S CHANCES

SOMETIME ago I had a long meeting with the special representatives in India of *The New York Times, The Baltimore Sun* and the *Time* magazine who put me many questions provoking loud thinking. This led me to see clearly the fundamental fact that if I had no faith in the Upanishad text *Satyam eva Jayate* there was no meaning in a man of my age and infirmities starting the Swatantra Party.

Here is an organization which has an unbroken history of 40 years, even discarding the pre-Gandhian period, which has built itself during the difficult struggle against Britain, and which has further consolidated itself after attainment of Independence, taking over complete State-power during the last 14 years with all its consequent advantages.

All this strength, over and above the halo round a party which was the instrument for liberation from foreign rule, a halo which though totally irrelevant for holding the government in its hands is still a real halo. And this party is determined to hold on to power. It has the advantage of undivided and unquestioned leadership.

Neither the party nor its chief envisaged when it declared for socialism that this would bring enormously more concrete power to the party. The controls and regulations which are the corollaries of socialism gave enormous powers and opportunities to the party in office to accumulate strength so as to make itself practically irremovable.

These powers and opportunities have fully and without any scruples been utilized by the party bosses.

No new party started in 1959 without any of these advantages—of a great halo, of time to build up and, more than all,

of State-power—could hope to find the task of opposing such a party easy. The venture is comparable to an Everest expedition.

What are the Swatantra Party's chances? How do you feel about the next elections? These are the questions put to me by every friend from abroad or in the country who is interested in the movement and meets me.

Would a question of the kind have been put to Churchill when Hitler's forces were at the height of their power? It was a life and death struggle and no such questions would be relevant. Even so it is now for democracy in India.

If at the next elections the Congress is not humbled, if its feathers are not plucked and its strength mauled, if not totally defeated, the fate of democracy is sealed. This is the issue: totalitarianism or democracy.

I was not unaware of the tremendous nature of the task that I proposed. The difficulty indeed was also the measure of the absolute need for such opposition. The difficulty was only the concrete expression of the totalitarianism which we had to resist.

Neither money nor workers nor the confidence issuing from power were available for a new party. What then induced me to take up this task or to ask my colleagues to engage themselves in it? Faith in the scriptural assurance. *Satyam eva Jayate* is the only answer.

Can we afford to sit silent and let this one-party-rule become absolutely irremovable and see our country go irretrievably totalitarian? If it is our national duty to resist and fight totalitarianism, it must be done without thought of success or defeat—even as Britain or Russia fought Hitler.

The heroes of the great war, Churchill, and Stalin fought because they must, not because they calculated and found they

could defeat Hitler. Our case is not different, if we do not want totalitarianism in India.

We must fight whatever the difficulties. At my age, no other guiding principles or motive could make me undertake this task. We must believe in God and His Grace and in the power of *satyam* and *dharma*—and fight.

The good soldier's duty is to fight evil whatever its strength. Where the enemy is strong, that wicked strength is the very reason why the soldier of *dharma* should make up his mind and resist. It is not a reason for giving up the battle.

The struggle may not give us the results we desire. We may fail to achieve even some sizeable results. But it is a battle for freedom which once it begins will go on until victory is won, whether A or B is there to share in it or not.

The essential issue is freedom as against the Congress's Statism. The Congress will not give up Statism. It is not a question of mere dogma or faith about policy. Statism not only kills the soul of the people but it gives power, absolute power, to the party in office.

The appetite for power grows with the feeding on it. So the party becomes a hungry leviathan. The Congress Party and the communists are both Statists. Our battle is therefore against both of them. All those against Statism should realize the compelling nature of the struggle.

The Congress Party in spite of its power and money, and the support it gets from its very victims, is conscious of the greater power of *satyam* and is therefore extraordinarily busy in defence as it never before was. It has seen the potential might of the revolt that has been raised.

Out of the Congress Party's declaration of what it calls socialism has emerged the issue of freedom for individual enter-

prise and energy as against a regime of regulation and control which kills all incentive, extinguishing all personal responsibility. But in addition to this, in consequence of the Statism that has emerged as an inescapable corollary to this socialism, and the opportunities it gives to the party in office to perpetuate that illegal power, what may be considered a more deadly danger than State socialism itself has arisen.

Democracy is threatened with extinction, all but the presence of it in external shape. A single party rule for all time, every year of office augmenting that party's irremovability, is not democracy. It is a replica of Soviet conditions.

These two issues, freedom and democracy, stand before the electors to decide whether to vote for or against the Congress. To put the Congress again in office is to discard freedom and to banish democracy for ever.

A vote for Swatantra is a vote for keeping freedom and democracy alive and, when given irrespective of what others do, it is a witness to one's faith in *Satyam eva Jayate.*

We fight for permanent values, not for power. May the genius of the nation assert itself.

September 1961 *Current*

THE NEW AMERICAN POLICY OF THREATS

In addition to unpredictable accident on which hitherto the prognostication of danger was particularly based by Bertrand Russell and other world statesmen, America has now adopted the psychological technique of shooting out dreadful threats similar to the Soviet practice. The threats are of such a nature that the world must be prepared for their explosion into actual

fatal provocation any day and that would be the beginning of the End.

U.S. News and World Report says :

> WASHINGTON, Sept. 26.
>
> The United States has the equivalent of 35,800 million tons of T.N.T. "waiting for any aggressor."
>
> "Press a button today and more than 200 missiles with hydrogen warheads would go speeding to specific cities in Russia. An additional 500 smaller missiles would be fired on other targets. From near and far, more than 5,000 U.S. bombers could be sent into action."
>
> In the first 24 hours of an "all-out" war the U.S. could pull the trigger on the equivalent of 16,000 million tons of T.N.T. —4,000 times the total dropped in the Second World War. If "most of the first wave" of a U S. attack struck home, 80 to 90 per cent of the Soviet Union's 200 million people would be killed.
>
> Mr. Khrushchov is in a "desperate rush" to catch up with the power of the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

The U.S. Attorney-General, Mr. Robert Kennedy, entertains no doubts in his mind about America resorting to the use of nuclear weapons, to "serve the freedom of Berlin". This he has declared, on behalf of his brother the President, in a recent television interview. The Kennedy Administration has, Mr. Robert Kennedy tells the world, spent 2,000 million dollars extra on nuclear weapons in addition to strengthening conventional weapons.

This 'assurance' that nuclear weapons will be used by America and its allies from the U.S. President's brother is from one point of view superfluous. The existence of this satanic stock of total-destruction weapons is a menace in its very nature.

Both sides have now adopted the plan of open threats to each other. Threats have a way of committing the Powers in a kind of honour to carry out the threats. The world is being brought more than ever to the brink of a terrible precipice.

Meanwhile in India we are 'planning' on the basis of loans and steady supplies of capital material from these very war-mongering Powers that threaten each other standing on the brink. The Congress Government takes for granted these supplies, and taxes the people, making the lives of the present generation in India miserable in the hope that fifty years hence or so, our grand-children will see an Utopia raised around them out of the aid given by the Powers. What is likely to happen immediately as a result of these loan transactions is that we shall be disabled from exercising any moral influence on the reckless nations to turn to good sense. On very unreliable foundations, indeed, are we asked to invest the blood and tears of our people for a coming secular Utopia.

We stand deprived of the capacity to demand good counduct by reason of our numerous obligations. They have (on both sides now) adopted the technique of open, mutual threats to use nuclear weapons and long range delivery rockets for defending Berlin and for other purposes arising out of their treaty obligations. These threats are, as far as America is concerned, a new style psychological warfare commended to the American Government by its latest advisers to equalize the position with Soviet propaganda. But threats are not mere threats. They create obligations of a deadly nature. They do not remain as deterrents, though that may be the intention. They become commitments of the administrations to their respective electorates to be put into practice.

It is unfortunate that some one has persuaded the American Government to adopt this technique as a working plan. It has not even the recommendation of originality. It is just imitation. Fire imitating fire does not quench but doubles the world-menace.

The following extract from a recent editorial of *The New York Times* (International edition) shows the magnitude of the danger awaiting the hour when either bloc may by some hasty thinking be morally compelled to execute its repeated threats :

> This bewildering generation through which we are living has brought mankind to a crossing of the ways unprecedented in all history We know now what our worst enemy is. It is not a disease. It is not famine. It is the atomic weapon which in war may completely destroy civilization and in peace may inflict grievous and lasting damage on the human race.

October 7, 1961 *Swarajya*

MORE SUFFERINGS IN STORE

THE Congress 'test explosions' are going on in all the States and the poisonous fall-out competes with that from the nuclear explosions of the cold war blocs. The Congress tests are intended to try the conscience of the nation and to train it to suffer expropriations and tyranny in field after field. The present persecution of the bigger ryotwari peasants is a prelude. After land ceilings will come, as already announced—if the Congress is returned to power—the attacks on urban and industrial acquisitions. When the conscience of India is trained to suffer the present violations of fundamental rights, the succeeding steps will be taken, one after another, without fear of any protest or obstacle. The Congress manifesto has given notice of this. The demagogues are intent on bribing the larger section of the population and earning their votes; they are not bothered about good government or welfare or food or capital formation, or justice or constitutional guarantees if votes are secured from the gullible mob. The Constitution can be changed in the course of a single session of the Lok Sabha to suit and authorize any fad or folly, or any

tyranny or injustice. Not welfare but votes are the sole aim and purpose of the present one-party democracy operating over a feeble nation.

Those who care only for their own immediate and illusory advancement will, in spite of every warning, support the Congress regime. With permits, licences and quotas from the Congress Government, wealth can be amassed and black money hoarded. But those who are interested in the future should beware of what is in store for them and their children. You have been already told and we have a mandate, the Congress will say, when men open their eyes and object. It is disastrously easy to be deceived or to be apathetic.

The communist regimes are cruel but efficient; they compel and ruthlessly produce the results aimed at. But the Congress is and will continue to be cruel but also inefficient. The socialist Congress will ruin the country and will not be able to bring about even the cruel profits of brutal injustice like the communists whom they seek to anticipate. It would be doubly disas-
qus to return the Congress to autocratic power once
sin, disastrous to freedom and disastrous even to material
usere.
ing
oblig comment need be added to the confession (quoted at
a new) of the Revenue Minister of Madras, which is applicable
Gover a different way from what the Minister intends. It fully
Sovies the case against the proposed law. The acquisition is
creafr constitutionally permissible purposes, but for the fulfil-
dez of a dogma which has no sanction in the Constitution and
cich is opposed to the fundamental conception of the citizen's
ights guaranteed against the State's intervention in the Constitution of India.

Referring to Opposition criticism that the ceiling of 30 acres was too high and would not leave any land surplus for distribution, the Minister (Mr. Manickavelu) said even if they fixed a ceiling much lower than what they had wanted (15 acres), say 5 acres,

they would not have enough surplus to go round. On the other hand, such fragmentation would jeopardise agricultural production, whereas the 30-acre ceiling would not affect production. They should also remember that the land they sought to distribute was not government land but land belonging to private landlords. They had to fix only a reasonable limit on their holdings.

Mr. Manickavelu reiterated that the object of the legislation was not to distribute land to the landless as Opposition members appeared to think. The legislation aimed at removing concentration of land in the hands of a few.

October 7, 1961 *Swarajya*

NATIONAL INTEGRATION

"No conference, however distinguished its participants, can integrate; it can only churn up the well-worn laments, symptoms and remedies. It is certain to approve, with acclamation, the desirability of integration." Thus wrote *The Statesman* on the day when the National Integration Conference was sitting in New Delhi, what was thus foretold has come about.

Conflicts were started in every field of production by the ruling party, the more numerous section being systematically encouraged. Promises were made to plunder the few and benefit the section which had more votes to give. Every language was given a little kingdom, so that those who spoke the languages became arrogant in their respective areas and instead of coming together, as time and commerce and nature inclined them to do, began to fall apart and quarrel. Minorities, often the real cream of the population, were treated as aliens and soon began to feel they were really alien. Thus has disintegration set in. The causes being admitted, these have to be treated. Platitudes cannot mend what policies have brought about.

After the above was written for the press it was good to read the following wise warning in the editorial of *The Hindu* :

> The seekers after national unity in India would be pursuing a will-o'-the-wisp if they went after a monolithic community of opinion, which is unthinkable in a country with so many languages, creeds and sects. Differences of views and divergence of interest are the stuff of an essentially pluralist society like ours. The existence of these differences is not by itself a calamity. What is really harmful, not only to the unity of the country, but even to the long-term interests and prosperity of the different sectors themselves, is the manner in which the conflict of interests and the divergences in opinions are sought to be resolved.

The farcical method of solving all conflicts and difficulties by the naive trick of simple addition is being pursued by the Congress Party : English to be Associate Language with Hindi and now Devanagari to be Associate Script with the regional scripts. The National Integration Committee which met at Mrs. Indira Gandhi's residence, after a three-and-a-half hour discussion, 'settled' the scheme of producing unity by approving Devanagari as the common script of India.

But Mr. Sadiq Ali assures us that the script of regional languages will function alongside of Devanagari. A three-legged race is the general solution for all objections to the fantastic proposals issuing out of the brains of compulsory integrators. Perhaps we shall have a declaration soon issuing that Roman also may run alongside. If two can be tied together why not three? Children learn scripts very easily, only adults object—this is the doctrine.

October 7, 1961 *Swarajya*

PRIME MINISTER'S EMBARRASSMENT

I have no doubt whatsoever that the Prime Minister's confession of being "a little ashamed" of collecting funds for the Congress Party attracted universal attention. But many important and usually vocal organs have been remarkably silent. They have desisted from making any remarks about the event, perhaps because they feel that the less said about it the better. This hesitation to touch what may redound to the discredit of a beloved leader is not a fulfilment of the proper duties of the press which justly claims many rights, on the basis of those duties. However, it was gratifying to see a very good and effective cartoon in *The Mail* of Madras and an editorial in the *Deccan Herald* respectively drawing attention to the amusing aspect of the Kanpur confession and the moral to be drawn from it. The *Deccan Herald* wrote editorially : "Obviously it is improper. It is bad enough that the Congress Party with its powerful position as the ruling party should be collecting big amounts from commercial concerns, business magnates and others for the party's fund, but if ministers and others, including even the Prime Minister, go about collecting purses, the morality of it must be termed doubly worse."

What has not been adequately brought into public criticism is that the Prime Minister who did not intervene or prevent his party from opposing and defeating the amendment proposed in Parliament to prohibit donations to political parties by companies, and who did not utter a word of protest all these many months when his party was very busy collecting huge amounts from business magnates, found reason to dislike these donations only when he learnt that a concern or two gave donations to the Swatantra Party also. He discovered his sense of shame only when help was given for an Opposition party to grow alongside of the Congress. The amusing part of the drama is that he pocketed the purses given by the Kapra Committee and others

even while he "felt a little ashamed" and confessed it. In fact he went to Kanpur for that purpose. The pity of the situation is that these business magnates do not seem to feel hurt at their donee taking the money and at the same time castigating them as people without principles.

October 7, 1961 *Swarajya*

WE MUST RE-MAKE FREEDOM

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।
मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥
योगस्थः कुरु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा धनञ्जय ।
सिद्ध्यसिद्ध्योः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योग उच्यते ॥

Have you ever in your own person experienced the joy of doing the right thing without caring about results, success or failure, which in the *Gita* is called Yoga? You will experience this delight if you do your own little best in the battle against a purse-proud power-intoxicated party. Vote for the Swatantra Party and thereby withdraw your vote from the Congress at the next elections if you disapprove of confiscation of honestly acquired property and hate injustice. Do not sit despairingly if you despise fraud, such as is practised when Government confiscates property, pretending to give compensation for it. You should reduce the Congress by at least one vote—which is in your power. If you in your heart dislike the Congress Party helping persons of its choice to amass easy wealth in partnership with the party, by giving them a monopoly in some business which it pretends to 'regulate', condemn the practice by withdrawing your vote from that party. If you want this permit-licence-quota raj to disappear you should make up your mind not to keep that desire secret, but make your displeasure known

by refusing to cast your vote for the Congress and giving it to the Swatantra Party.

Are you thinking it would be good for the people if prices go down and taxes are less? Then you should know for whom you should *not* vote. Your vote to the Congress would mean you want the prices to soar and the taxes to grind. The Congress will get votes by rousing class hatred and making false promises to a gullible people. But do not add your vote to it.

If you disapprove of India becoming a hopeless debtor ending in bankruptcy and desire that India should maintain her Gandhian self-respect and hold her head high, then you should be among those who cast their votes for the Swatantra Party. Your duty is to do what you can and not get frightened by thinking how successful the Congress is with people who can be deceived. It will not add to your glory or peace of mind to be among those who have allowed themselves to lose their will-power and surrendered themselves to the hypnotist. Do not become an unwilling party to take India one step further towards totalitarianism.

The appeal of the Congress is founded on its Plan—the Plan with 15 years behind it and 15 years or more in front of it. This totalist Plan is ambitious and at the same time fatally linked to a supply of foreign aid. It depends on others for capital equipment and for sustaining the whole economy. Foreign aid depends, whatever may be said to the contrary, on the continuing life of the cold war without bursting into actual war. Daily we hear Mr. Nehru's voice warning us against hot war, if not actually foretelling it. If war breaks out by accident or by provocation, what happens to the Plan? It would then, beyond doubt, be a sad wreckage. Let our non-alignment be a genuine, brave, though humble attitude. Let us not get hopelessly entangled in a net of assistance from the parties to the cold war. Let us arrange to survive any mess outside. From this point of view our ambitious plans are futilities and unwise adventures. The

whole of the Congress appeal is linked to this Plan and its Achilles' heel.

Dharma should be restored to its traditional position in the minds of men and women in India. We should not look on impotently when it is being overwhelmed by money-hunger. Here is a non-*Dharma* party overwhelming the culture and the traditions of India. Whatever others may do, you should vote for *Dharma* and the freedom of the soul. Do not vote for a party that seeks to make Government the total master of every citizen's affairs, killing the spirit of compassion and extinguishing all private charity in favour of a leviathan-State.

The Congress leadership aims at complete conformity of feelings and beliefs as well as external behaviour. It aims at an all-devouring totalism of which totalitarian secular authority is a chapter. Against this is ranged the Swatantra movement. The Swatantra Party's work and success or failure this year form but the preliminary of an emancipatory, determined movement that must go on without ceasing until freedom is established. The coming 1962 election is but the beginning of the battle against Congress's totalism. Be a pioneer in the battle and cast your vote for Swatantra.

It matters little if there are atheists, if some among the people do not believe in the soul but think the body is everything. But it matters a great deal if the government of a country is run by a leadership that ignores and denies the soul and acts on the footing that the body is the one and only thing that matters. If you want government to be in the hands of people who believe, like the Hindus, the Muslims, the Parsis, the Sikhs, the Christians and the Jews, in an eternal spiritual element to which the name of *soul* or *atman* is given, and of which the body is a tool, stand up against the Congress and support the Swatantra Party. Do not be deceived by the tall talk of a party that has only the cloak of Gandhism and has rejected its vital principles and gone over completely to Lenin and communism.

There can be no nation if the individual is robbed of his strength and his confidence by a ruling clique, a closed shop, which uses its position to build permanent domination for itself. We must re-make freedom by dislodging this clique.

October 14, 1961 *Swarajya*

KHRUSHCHOV

An eminent columnist in the *New Leader* has analysed Khrushchov's position and set out the 'advantages' he has against the West. Khrushchov's breast is covered with medals and his mouth is full of words and he has instilled fear in the bones of young Westerners. Khrushchov has the qualities of all the previous dictators who struck terror in the Western world, militant Islam, the Huns, Napoleon, the Kaiser and Hitler. He has like them a great mass following. He has, moreover, plenty of weapons of destruction and secrets too, to add. He has absolute rule with no trouble about elections and other such democratic worries. He follows a set of morals quite different from traditional codes. Murder and lying are permitted in the communist code to attain desired ends. Yet Mr. William Bohn feels sure that America can stand up to him (Khrushchov) if she does not surrender to alarm. He thinks that America, from President down to the people, is now doing the right thing. All this is hopeful.

But it seems to fit in with the new plan of threats and counter-threats *ad infinitum*, which will surely one day end up in a call to make the threats good—which means total destruction. We are up against a fundamental—fire cannot quench fire, a fundamental which Buddha, Socrates, Jesus and Gandhi stressed.

October 14, 1961 *Swarajya*

WISDOM THROUGH ERROR

A great historian of the last world war, Herbert Feis, has in his latest volume brought out the folly of a conquering nation demanding total surrender. The effects of such a policy are not apparent at the moment of victory and the victorious are misled into what later becomes a misfortune. Herbert Feis reflects the opinion of the wiser section of present-day world-statesmen that the last war should have been ended at an earlier stage, thereby averting Russia's declaration of war and the Hiroshima and Nagasaki tragedy. If this had been done and Japan allowed to retain Formosa and the Kuriles and Ryukyus, and not completely restricted to the home islands, and China not presumed to remain a faithful friend and ally, history would have taken a different course. "What seemed right at one historical juncture has turned into patent wrong by the passage of time." It is true, though sad, that we have not even now learned how to protect ourselves. Must the inexorable historical process be left to its own cruel evolution? Must vanity and error and misfortune be for ever man's lot? No, we must learn. These "if's" and "might-have-been's" of belated wisdom are not entirely waste of human intelligence. The scientific method of trial and error is based on the practical value of these "if's" and "might-have-been's". Let us not throw up our hands but maintain confidence in our capacity to learn. Total victory has proved to be totally wrong. Now the question is whether total destruction is a valid answer to misbehaviour or the proper termination of fear and suspicion. Must wisdom wait until we actually see the catastrophe?

October 14, 1961 *Swarajya*

WHY I AM ANGRY

WHEN slavery was part of the economy of the nation in America, I have no doubt the slaves who were treated as favourites and enjoyed concessions and privileges were very happy with the slave system. They would not support any movement for the abolition of slavery or the extinction of such special privileges. The badly treated slaves, too, in an economy where there was not room for free labour, must have thought that the slavery system was good because they were fed and cared for to some extent, whereas those who were not slaves were starving.

Similarly in a permit-licence-economy such as the Congress Party has, in its wisdom, established in this country, the businessmen who get favours and flourish under it, relative to those who are not favoured, want it to continue and so support the Congress Party. The scarcity conditions created by the policy give opportunities for illegal profit—what is called the black market—which would disappear in a free economy. Businessmen therefore support the Congress and in turn this gives a sense of confidence to the Congress bosses. These do not know that in spite of all this, the business community as a whole would much prefer to be free of the humiliations and harassments of the officials who are employed in enforcing the restrictions inherent in the permit-licence-raj. Freedom is certainly more conducive to happiness and prosperity, and the better sense of the world of businessmen would vote for it if they could overcome fear and shortsighted selfishness. I do not believe they enjoy the humiliations they suffer at the hands of ignorant officials working under the umbrella of the Congress Party.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru referred to me with respect and affection and expressed his wonder why I speak in so much anger. Let it be called anger, but can he not guess why I am angry? Does he not see how a people who were on the whole

honest and God-fearing have now been everywhere made by the policies enforced by Government into a greedy and dishonest people? Does he not realize that a fine cadre of officials with a keen sense of justice, honesty and public service have now been made into spineless flatterers and partisans? I see fear enveloping everywhere like a poisonous fog on all the significant sections of the people.

I see God disappearing and mammon occupying His place in the hearts of men. I see traditional values of life centering on compassion steadily being starved out by an all-devouring State.

And I feel all this is due to the policy of over-government adopted by the Congress Party under Mr. Nehru's leadership which gives it a powerful instrument for perpetuating itself in office.

Ignorant officials and, worse than that, ignorant and insolent ministers are placed in positions of great authority over all the men who follow avocations of service to the motherland and who have proved their worth.

The rural people are being deprived of leadership and the peasants made into sheep without shepherds. The guarantee of compensation for any property that the State takes away from a citizen is turned into a fraud and unworthy pretence, and the gates of justice are closed against the transaction. I see tyranny, insolence and corruption made the permanent official atmosphere. I see Chief Ministers of States, Finance and Food Ministers at the top level of the regime going about extorting money for the party without fear or shame. The Prime Minister's confessed shame in connection with these collections is used as a further sanction for a monopoly in such extortions. I happen to remember a time when such things could not be thought of.

I see the field being ploughed up for communism and total loss of freedom. I see waste on a stupendous scale going on

with borrowed money. What do we need aircraft carriers for? Or atomic power enterprise? Occident-mania misleads the dictator and the fawning crowd around him eggs him on. Our foreign liabilities are pyramiding up with no plan or possibility of honourable discharge. Graft is growing into an accepted convention.

I can't help being sad. I am not entirely hopeless; so my grief looks like anger.

October 21, 1961 *Swarajya*

OUT-DATED DOCTRINE

THE conflict between values is what is at the bottom of the quarrel between the Congress dictatorship and the Swatantra Party. British Premier Macmillan put it plainly when he told his recent Party rally at Brighton that the struggle "between the free world and its belief in God" on the one side and, on the other, atheistic communism "may last for another generation—perhaps even longer". In India Mr. Nehru asks the people to surrender at once. The Swatantra Party says 'no', even as Sita refused to accept the pressure of the Rakshasis in the Asoka garden or as Vasishta refused to give away to King Viswamitra, his Sabala, his Kaamadhenu that could give all that he desired. Freedom is Kaamadhenu. Whether it is better that citizens serve the nation out of free will and free choice and in a free way, or must they be drilled, brainwashed and regimented, and work as automatons under a political party for all time in power—this is the issue.

Apart from the comparative degrees of efficiency and the obvious loss of potentiality involved in compulsion, the loss of

freedom makes the result empty and void of the content of welfare and happiness.

This then is the ultimate issue between free economy and socialism—be it the ineffective fumbling Congress pattern or the brutal communist pattern. When a political party is in office with powers of compulsion, it can perpetuate itself for all time through successive Plans, and it becomes a caste and takes the place of God.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru returned from Cambridge with notions of how an all-governing interventionist State can force people into happiness and prosperity through socialism. He continually pressed his bias on the Gandhian Congress but failed until he came to occupy the seat of power as sole inheritor of the prestige of liberation, when this out-dated theory of governance and prosperity got its chance and was officially adopted by the Congress Party.

He sticks to his bias in spite of the demonstration of world experience against it. He imagines that those who have recovered faith in the potentiality of freedom are all old fashioned. He thinks that compulsion is the ultimate truth. Because an immature proletariat is easily beguiled into agreeing to this, he does not see that the civilized world has reverted to freedom as the better and truer way.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's illusion about his own modernity is what befogs the whole of the Congress Party. Till recently he even believed he was still young. He has got over it so far as his own age is concerned. But he and his party are still under the illusion of the modernity of their out-dated doctrine of governance.

October 21, 1961 *Swarajya*

THE GIANT - EXPLOSION

While no words are strong enough adequately to condemn the resumption of nuclear test explosions by Russia, one must protest also against the unsatisfactory attitude of America in respect of the U.N. resolution sponsored by India. As a matter of immediate urgency it is right that the Scandinavian States and Japan have come forward for priority to a call to Mr. Khrushchov to give up the threatened 50-megaton nuclear test. The immensely increased adverse effect of such an explosion on the health of the world population is enough for this urgent appeal from the highest world forum now available. The plea of Russia that these explosions which foul the world atmosphere were necessitated in order to prevent a war which would mean the perishing of millions and the vanishing of entire countries may be good propaganda and look meaningful in the eyes of the people of Russia (though even this is very doubtful) but can carry no conviction to the people of the world who are to be the victims of such wanton, immediate injury, on the ground that it might intimidate nations into peace.

On the other hand, the statement of Mr. Adlai Stevenson is not worthy of his record and great intelligence. He threatens that the United States will resume nuclear tests and thereby double the immediate attack on world health if the Soviet Union should continue its series of nuclear tests. Mr. Adlai Stevenson besides being the Chief Delegate of the U.S. in the United Nations, has a reputation for clear thinking, which entitles world citizens to ask in dismay what this strange attitude means. Surely the issue is not only between Russia and America or, at all, an issue between them. The question is whether either of these nations or both of them (it makes no difference) are entitled to do such immense present mischief to the health of the world. All ways to prevent Russia from behaving wickedly may and should

be tried, but it is absurd to think that a threat to double the injury to the world is either a deterrent or a sound argument. Russia is interested in her tests and if America explodes new tests, Russia will not for that reason stop her tests but only redouble her tests—the net result being doubling and quadrupling the crime against the world.

If A threatens to murder a child, would B prevent it by threatening to murder another child in whom A is not interested? If Mr. Adlai Stevenson had good authority to say that if the Soviet Union experimented with a 50-megaton device, it would expose 80 per cent of the world's population to radio-active fall-out of a far more massive nature than that of all the fall-out that had resulted from all the nuclear tests made since 1945, would that horrible truth justify doubling it in absurd and profitless retaliation? This sort of race between two criminal competitors in technological adventure has neither sense nor even plausibility to support it. It cannot help to push the security of America or Russia one inch forward, even if the security of America or Russia against each other were a justification to destroy the world or poison mankind. After presenting his unconvincing argument, Mr. Adlai Stevenson is stated to have "firmly opposed" the moratorium on nuclear tests proposed by India. Sometimes simple available solutions are better than unavailable complex ones, specially when there is no time to build up the complex solutions to the satisfaction of both the two highly prejudiced and obstinate parties. A complex and fraud-proof solution being impossible of conception and acceptance, let us try a simple solution. A "morass of confusion and deceit," such as Mr. Adlai Stevenson fears will result from a simple solution, is certainly better than actual nuclear fall-out affecting 80 per cent of the world population, and the doubling of it by way of retaliation or in pursuit of an insane theory that such a competition will enhance the security or the reputation of America.

October 28, 1961 *Swarajya*

A SATANIC LABORATORY

We are told by Mr. Khrushchov that six eminent bemedalled men, till some time ago in the High Command in Russia and whose names have appeared in all the history books that deal with that country and its rulers, were traitors. They along with two lakhs of partymen stand 'disgraced'. This strange proceeding throws a fog of gruesome mystery on the politics and the ways of communist life. One fails to understand how all this could be. Not very long ago these men had staked their lives and their all and defended their country against Hitler. They were gods. How did they now become devils and how, again, did they develop conscience to confess their wickedness?

Communism is a thing apart and its politics cannot fall in line with human nature or the politics of freedom. It is un-understandable. Strangest of all is the disclosure or claim that these six men whose stature in their country's politics and history was not less than that of Lloyd George, Churchill, Attlee, Eden, or Macmillian confessed their 'error' and Mr. Voroshilov, the most eminent among them, pleaded that "the Devil had misled him". There is no God to lead the communists, but it seems the Devil is there to mislead them!

Can any normal, intelligent human being brought up in the axioms and the disciplines of ordinary logic and civilization understand these developments? These strange proceedings are enough to damn the atheistic scheme of life called communism. They are enough to make the young and immature to beware of this cult.

Venturing to offer a solution, I may say that this is what total power must lead to. The so-called socialist economy and total power of the State create the conspiracies and mutual fears and jealousies, and awful recriminations and confessions, which

are disclosed in these proceedings. It is indeed a dark Satanic laboratory of power and conspiracy which is inconsistent with freedom and civilization and human values. It is astonishing that millions of people accept the rule of men working in such a laboratory and submit to their dictatorship.

But there is nothing that is too strange to happen in this world. The human brain is wonderful but when it goes wrong, it becomes a wonderfully worthless instrument. And communism's method, from start to finish, is to get people's brains to go wrong.

October 28, 1961 *Swarajya*

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SWATANTRA PARTY

The Indian National Congress has been before the country for nearly 80 years. Not taking into account the pre-Gandhian period, the reorganized Congress institution has been working for the last 40 years. A little over 25 years ago, the Congress gave up its national character and became a political party contesting elections. This party began with a fund of popular affection, derived from the successful struggle for freedom conducted by the Congress against foreign rule. Britain entrusted the governance of the country to the leaders of that party in 1947. During the last five years, through the adoption of the so-called socialist policy, this regime and, through it, the Congress Party assumed complete control over the country's industry, trade and commerce.

The Congress Party, therefore, has had the advantage not only of long years but also of being in sovereign authority controlling the fortunes of all businessmen that count in India. Democracy has been functioning in our country under the

guidance of this party without any Opposition party to speak of, in this climate of totalist control over all industry, trade and commerce and individual life. It was only in the middle of 1959 that, on account of the regimentation policies which the Congress adopted, the Swatantra Party was conceived and started.

The Swatantra Party has not found its work easy, not only because it is difficult to divert men from the traditional attachment to the Congress but also, and especially, on account of the manner in which the Congress Ministers have utilised their position and their control over the business activities conducted by the industrial and commercial community in order to strengthen the party organization in every manner. Practically unlimited funds are now at the disposal of the Congress Party to be utilised purely for party purposes. After the first flush of patriotism that followed Independence, the people's spirit deteriorated in many ways and money power has become an important element in democracy.

In spite of these handicaps, the Swatantra Party has made headway and seeks the suffrage of the people in the 1962 elections. The Swatantra Party published in August 1959, in brief and precise form, without any plethora of words, the principles to which the party stood pledged. Having come into existence long after the Congress, the Swatantra Party has clearly set out before the public what it stands for, namely, the sacredness as well as the secular importance of individual freedom and enterprise and the great harm that regimentation would cause to real progress. The principles published in 1959 are as good as a manifesto for the elections of 1962. These 21 principles have been explained and amplified in subsequent publications of the party.

One of the most important provisions states that the party will not seek to curb the freedom of its members to vote according to personal conviction in any but the matters stated in that document. What this country needs is a government as near

to a non-party regime as possible, as near to a national government as we can secure in parliamentary democracy. The Swatantra Party's pledge to leave its members free to vote without party whips on all matters except where the anti-regimentation policies of the party impinges, is a guarantee that in most matters that come up from time to time, the national and real majority view will prevail and not that of the majority within the ruling clique as is now happening under the Congress Government.

The Congress Party claims special credit for all things done by the Government during these 14 years. Much of it is obviously what any government which collects taxes and has undertaken the duties of administration must do. Such achievements cannot be claimed as a speciality of the Congress Party. The Swatantra Party, if put in power, will utilise the machinery of administration and the taxes paid by the people and carry on as well as, if not much better than, the Congress Party in all these directions. What the Swatantra Party opposes is the near-communist regimentation policy which the Congress has now adopted. The Swatantra Party's opposition will take shape as the policy of the government if the Swatantra Party is returned to power, and even otherwise as a continuous opposition policy, if the party is returned in sufficient strength to become an effective opposition.

Supplementing the above I shall rapidly take the reader over some concrete points. But before that, let me say a few words about the Congress election manifesto.

"Equal opportunity to every citizen"—one of the phrases occurring in the Congress manifesto—is a good thing but it is not the Congress but the Swatantra Party that will give it. The permit-licence-quota raj of the Congress regime which is re-embodied by necessary implication in the Third Plan is a negation of equal opportunity to every citizen for many, many more years if not for all time, and is a means to give the party's favourites opportunities to get rich quick. The almost unendingly expanding foreign borrowing programme on a scale which

it is not an exaggeration to call monstrous and to which the Congress plans commit the nation makes a self-sustaining and self-generating programme an obvious impossibility. Yet this self-sufficiency and independence is without any qualm of conscience promised in the Congress manifesto. Even more brazen is the effrontery of the Congress manifesto when it says that the Congress Party stands for "the worth and dignity of the individual". Every self-respecting citizen knows that it is the first victim laid on the altar of regimentation. It is to save the worth and dignity of the individual that the Swatantra movement had had to be organized in spite of every obvious handicap. The Congress manifesto professes to be against monopolies when everyone knows that it is the party's regime that has created and is continuing to create a number of unearned monopolies for its favourites in industry as well as in trade. The Congress regime is bent on creating the most intolerable of all monopolies, a State monopoly in the hands of a particular closed-shop political party which thereby obtains the means of perpetuating itself in power and the enjoyment of that monopoly. Recent revelations about collection of party funds have thrown bright light on this evil.

The Swatantra Party's mission is to oppose the Congress Party's so-called socialist policies. It stands for the Indian way of life which attaches as great importance to *Dharma* as to material prosperity. Spiritual values in the tradition of the country will prevail with this party. It does not promise to do for the people impossible things; it will help them to help themselves, not relieve them of responsibility as the Congress Party seeks to do or makes people believe it will, by its controls and regulated economy.

More than anything else the Swatantra Party is bent on giving the country a clean administration. It will see that there is no interference by politicians either of the ruling party or others in the day-to-day administrative affairs. The machinery of administration will be streamlined and co-ordinated so that necessary action may not be delayed or deviate from justice.

All laws and orders passed in contravention of the Fundamental Rights as originally conceived by the fathers of the Constitution will be repealed and just rights restored except where gross injustice will ensue as a result of lapse of time or other unavoidable causes. The articles in the Constitution dealing with Fundamental Rights will be restored to their original shape as set out in the Constitution of 1950. Where land or other property has been already acquired without due compensation, every effort will be made to render justice.

The Swatantra Party will rectify the confusion and corruption which have entered the economy by reason of controls, permits, licences and quotas given by the Congress Government.

Government interference in the industrial activities of the people will be reduced to the minimum. Encouragement will be given to the ploughing back of profits for further expansion. A State enterprise will not be allowed to enjoy an undeserved monopoly. Wherever possible, private enterprise will be allowed to compete with nationalized industries and services so as to keep all efforts at the highest level of efficiency.

Trade will be entirely left to the people and kept competitive. The State Trading Corporation will only deal with communist countries.

The Swatantra Party will restore religion to its legitimate influence on life. Gifts to religious institutions and private charities will be released from taxation. The Swatantra Party will enforce proper respect for the practices and property of all religions in India, duly recognizing the fact that every religion is contributing to the general welfare by helping the spiritual stability and moral asset of the respective communities.

The Swatantra Party will faithfully carry out the provisions in the Constitution for the protection of the rights of all minorities and will not open itself to the charge of indirectly disregarding them. It will not look upon associations for the protection

of the rights of minorities and for their betterment as communal organizations to be discouraged.

The Swatantra Party will rectify foreign policy so as to restore the moral influence of our nation in world affairs, and not merely serve personal ambitions for international importance. The party will endeavour to rectify the unfortunate impression created in the world that India is really not non-aligned but has a bias in favour of the communist bloc.

The party will do everything possible to maintain territorial integrity and do whatever is possible at this late stage to put back aggression.

The party will halt borrowing from foreign governments and encourage private capital more freely to flow into the country's private sector from abroad.

The stability of the rupee will be the party's pre-eminent care and inflation will be curbed. Deficit financing will be avoided as far as possible.

The Swatantra Party will halt taxation which is becoming regressive and has directly and indirectly made the life of the middle and poorer classes miserable.

The party will rely on private enterprise, activated where necessary by loans and aids, and widespread rural public works, to create employment opportunities for the people everywhere instead of hoping to tackle the problem by big installations and works in a few places which cannot provide for the general population.

The party will stop the wasteful expansion of the administrative machinery and reduce government expenditure to the minimum. Extravagant construction of new buildings will be prohibited. Government undertaking will be improved by organizing better management and adequate supervision.

Agriculture will receive first priority and will be put on a sound basis, automatically leading to the emergence of a viable industrial sector. The party will restore the farmer's interest in his property, big or small, and uncertainties will be removed and incentives provided. The small peasant will be freed from land taxes except to the extent necessary for maintaining ownership records. The small peasant will be given every encouragement to grow into a big peasant.

The party stands for land reform but opposes expropriation in any form including what is directly or indirectly involved in collective or co-operative farming for which the Congress Party stands. The Swatantra Party will initiate and support reforms such as will improve harmonious relations between owner and tenant as well as labourers employed on land and bring about increased effort and production. But the party is opposed to policies that create conflict and uncertainty and lack of interest in cultivation. The party will do everything to support an adequate level of agricultural prices relative to the prices of industrial commodities required for rural life.

Great attention will be given to small-scale industries. Competition will be promoted in all spheres of economic activity and monopolies will be guarded against.

The sales tax will be made less onerous, uniform and simple and harassment will be eliminated by duly recognizing the conditions under which small trade is actually carried on in the country.

The production of consumer goods and their proper distribution will be encouraged so as to make life happy for people with low grade incomes.

Top priority will be given to housing not only in urban and suburban areas but also in the rural areas.

Special attention will be given to technical education and workshop service centres will be established on a widespread

scale to help agricultural and other machinery being kept in good order and facilities provided for cheap local training of skilled workers.

Trade unions will not be allowed to become the playground of political parties and will be helped to be in the hands of the workers themselves.

Admission to schools and colleges will be on merit. The need for special facilities for poor pupils showing merit will be fully recognized. The autonomy of the universities will not be infringed.

Mobile ambulance facilities will be organized so as to enable the rural population to obtain the services of big medical institutions in the districts without difficulty or loss of time.

Attention to roads and culverts and bridges will be greatly improved in all public works, mechanization will be avoided wherever man-power can be efficiently employed and where speed of execution is not essential.

Election procedure will be improved and amended so as to secure a fair chance for the real views of the electorate to prevail and so that no one is kept out from exercising his vote by ignorance of his rights or distance or other causes. The principle of State responsibility for the periodical collection of the votes of the people will be put in force so as to reduce the expenses of candidates to the minimum and release democracy from the domination of money power. At present, elections have become a scandalous form of private enterprise. The State should take up full responsibility for working democracy in a proper way.

The greatest single cause of the present unsatisfactory position is the absence of an effective Opposition to the ruling party, offering to replace it and checking its errors from time to time. The communists have come to recognize the present ruling party

as their instrument, and so are not a real opposition. The Swatantra Party has been formed in order to check the Congress and the *machinery of government from surrendering to communism.*

If the Congress Party if returned again to power now, it would be an endorsement of its present policies, placing the country on the brink of communism. The inevitable inefficiency and failure of the Congress Government and its official machinery will then push the country over the brink into communism or a military regime. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru will then discover a slogan to reconcile the nation to that fate. This is the crisis of the present situation and the Swatantra Party warns the nation to beware. Unless the Swatantra Party is returned in substantial strength, not only democracy but our traditional values will be lost. *Satyam eva jayate.*

October 18, 1961 *The Indian Express*

INDEX

INDEX

Vol. I ends with page 560 and Vol. II begins from page 561

ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY, on public service 118-9

ADMINISTRATION, deterioration as compared with British regime 756, 920, 928
officials' appetite for power coincided with socialist policy of the Congress 831-2
permanent civil service now adjusts its advice to ministerial errors and perversities 787

AFRICA, SOUTH, admission that Indians in S. Africa have become a permanent part of the population 969-70

AMBEDKAR, DR., ceilings and restrictions on election expenditure laid down at his instance now being nullified 595
while agreeing to time-limit on concessions to backward classes, he was alive to evil effects of coddling 741

Apartheid, Boers should carry it forward to logical end 535
political *apartheid* in Ceylon 800
sinful in any form 121
South Africa's policy after Commonwealth Conference 798-9

AMERICA, rise in cost of living and commodity prices keeps pace with the volume of the currency 728

AMERICA (*continued*)
demand for Indian handloom cloth has disappeared 731
policy towards Cuba, on the horns of a dilemma 822

ARISTOTLE, postulates for democracy; conflict as well as social cohesion 583
quoted by Dean Swift on *abuse* and *corruption* of Government 591

ASSAM, lessons of recent happenings; tribal idea of linguistic isolation gives wicked impulse to many other prejudices; would have been wiser to have preserved former large provinces 573-4
troubles are but the acute symptom of a big error 912

AUGUST FIFTEENTH, true significance to the world 5-6

BACKWARD CLASSES, concessions calculated to keep them ever in a lower status 741

BACKWARD CASTES, State assistance creates new vested interest in backwardness and perpetuates caste; simple economic basis for help must be found 643-5

BANDARANAIKE, S.W.R.D., lesson to be learnt from his assassination 429

BANTU AREAS, South Africa's new-found concern for development 799

B.C.G., inoculation, a quackery with organizational drive 355, 481
900-901

B.C.G. *(continued)*
The British Medical Journal on case against B.C.G. 364
Union Health Minister criticized 405-6

BERLIN CRISIS, West Berlin Mayor's views on situation; Mr. Nehru's two-States thesis is pro-Khrushchovian 991

BERUBARI, cession to Pakistan not justified; spirit of the Constitution must be preserved; answer to Gen. Ayub Khan on validity and scope of treaties 691-2

BHABHA, DR. H. J., on establishment of nuclear power stations 917

BHAKTAVATSALAM, M., advises D.M.K. not to join hands with Swatantra Party, because of the latter's anti-socialism; why not the Congress then merge with the communists? 921-2
big farm owner is full owner and not intermediary, as stated by him 528-9
disclosure on surplus land; Congress promises falsified 530
estoppel plea examined 528

BHAVE, VINOBA, advocacy of non-party system in working representative government 836

BLACK, EUGENE, on the superiority of private enterprise 949

BOWLES, CHESTER, on nuclear test ban 552

BRAHMINS, spread good habits by strict abstinences till they were displaced as

BRAHMINS (*continued*)
models by Western rulers; their aping of the Western manners has grown worse after Independence 926

BRINKMANSHIP, at Suez 7

BRITISH CRITICS of India's Third Plan 604

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY, support for unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons 624, 655

BRITISH REGIME IN INDIA, wise to organize army regiments on basis of communal *esprit de corps* 971-2

BURKE, EDMUND, lure of Parliament for men with ambition 843
on Religion as "the source of all good and of all comfort" 847
on the folly of regulation and on the need for free trading, on indiscreet tampering with agricultural production 844-6
"party divisions are things inseparable from free government" 957
prophecy of militarist danger 160

CAPITAL, that portion of wealth which is applied to production as seed grain is for the production of more grain 697, 773

CAPITALISTS, role in the nation's economy; not enemies of the people 697

CASTE, the new caste of the lazy literate; education must foster readiness and aptitude for bodily labour 923-4

CEMENT, Government making high profits through State trading 953

CENTRALISM, centralized authority is no cure for fissiparous tendencies generated by ruling party's policies 1003-4
hits harder in India than in small countries because here the States also lose to the Centre over and above the individuals losing to the State 739-40
(See also under CONGRESS)

CEYLON, future of Indians; a lesson from South Africa 969
plight of the Stateless Indians 248-50
political *apartheid* 800
Tamils' struggle for autonomy; federal regime will ensure equality with Sinhalese; hope centred on lady Premier to bring about peace 824-6

CHINA, admission to U.N., America's duty 410-12
aggression demands rethinking 705
agricultural debacle 848
America and Sino-Indian relations 293
attitude to, of U.S. and Russia 205-6
choice before India; isolationism must be given up; one way to influence Russia 533-4
Dalai Lama's exile and India's stand explained 329
effects of aggression on India's economy and non-alignment policy; the way out; letter to *The New York Times* 448-50
Herter on U.S. policy 470
nuclear dangers involved in conflict with Formosa 332-3

CHINA *(continued)*
objective of border aggression is the undermining of India's relations with Himalayan States; India should not be a suppliant for U.S. help 483-5
policy has betrayed India and Mr. Nehru 469
second thoughts in America 241
Stevenson urges change in U.S. policy 419-20
strengthening India's defence 467-8, 471

CLASSICS, give us perpetual intellectual pleasure 932-3

CIGARETTES, myth of clean ones 63, 925-6

CO-EXISTENCE, Bertrand Russell's critic criticized 298
not a fraud, but the only way to peace 177

COLD WAR, Dulles's departure and re-thinking on brinkmanship 325-6
peoples friendly but their governments are hostile 596-7
solution must be sought on moral plane 116
unilateral action, the only effective strategy 115
vested interests of a few Great Powers 677

COMMONWEALTH, attitude to South Africa 535

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE, some inevitable but logical developments—what does Commonwealth now signify? 797-800

COMMUNAL CHARITIES, wholesale condemnation not justified; spirit of

COMMUNAL CHARITIES (*continued*)

trusteeship must be nourished to expand and embrace the whole community 657-60

COMMUNAL GROUPS, majority community would but add insult to injury if it withdrew the right of association from members of minority groups 911

no need for legislative ban; penal provisions of existing law sufficient 802-3, 834

COMMUNALISM, is a sin only when it becomes narrow-mindedness based on caste or denomination 802-3

is at the root of all decisions of the Congress Party in administration as well as in party work 1003

origin of the disease 930

COMMUNAL LOYALTY, not a vice; a brick which can help to build the nation 971

COMMUNISM, decline as a spiritual and moral power; clear evidence in Russia and the satellite countries; the new Gorgon's head of creeping communism in non-communist countries 720

disgracing of partymen in U S S.R., Khrushchov's act throws a fog of gruesome mystery on the politics and the ways of communist life 1039

(See also under CONGRESS AND COMMUNISM)

COMMUNIST PARTY, philosophy and way of life are the most reactionary of world conceptions 790

CONFUCIUS, government by virtue better than government by law 486

CONGO, emancipation from colonial rule must be followed by U.N. trusteeship to train and equip people for self-government 870-2

exaggerated notions of democratic capacity—a lesson 709-10

lesson for India ; how tribal conflicts break out 635-6

CONGRESS (GOVERNMENT, PARTY), accounts must be rendered by members to the public 120

a committee of careerists with power to co-opt 118

after land ceiling will come, if the Congress is returned to power, the attacks on urban and industrial acquisitions, if violations of fundamental rights are acquiesced in, the party will take other succeeding steps, one after another, without fear—of which Congress manifesto has given notice 1023

bogus membership exposed by Mr. Mohanlal Saxena 862

centrifugal and centripetal pulls 171-4

collection of election funds—plea for interregnum at the time of general elections ; ban as in America must be imposed in India 579, 581

concentration of power in Delhi and emasculation of State governments 62, 74

conspiracy with officials to retain war-time controls 831

controls and regulations which are corollaries of socialism have given

CONGRESS (GOVT., PARTY) (*continued*)
enormous powers and opportunities to the party in office to make itself practically irremovable 1017
distempers of ; immoral use of party power ; waste of public money 153-4
doles to peasants would be a patent mechanism for vote-buying unless based on non-party lines 801
election hopes based on money collections, holding office and power during election time 774
four grounds of arraignment of the Congress 756-60
great error of centralization 60
greedy and power-mad ; contrast to British rule evident in desire to collect party funds from business community 608-9
has benefited by State control of industry ; a commission of enquiry will reveal disgraceful state of affairs 632-3
has built up vested interest in the ballot box 639
has in effect disenfranchised the private sector 907
hypocritical way out of Durgapur resolution about having no dealings with communal parties 880-1
if it is not humbled or totally defeated at the next elections, the fate of democracy is sealed 1018
instead of allowing a natural synthesis of castes and communities, has created the new caste of the ruling party 1003

CONGRESS (GOVT., PARTY) (*continued*)

intellectuals hypnotized into silence; *timely BBC broadcast* 330

it is an effrontery to say the party stands for "the worth and dignity of the individual," when they are the first victim to Congress regimentation 1043

its brand of socialism is a fraud 776

jubilee functions and State tri-colour flag exploited for party ends 768

mania for uniformity and centralization spreads 739

meddling with co-operation; Reserve Bank Governor's warning 777

more difficult to campaign for freedom against the Congress than against our former rulers 685

need to oust it by combined anti-totalitarian forces 827

no need for full-time professional congressmen 119, 271

no need to seek election alliances in view of the concentration of power in its hands 815

not produced good government; ignored principle of conservation of all that is good 259-60

parrot-cry against Swatantra Party as 'negative' and as having no ideology 611

party funds; Prime Minister confesses his embarrassment at Kanpur; in Parliament he didn't intervene when his partymen defeated the Opposition amendment proposing that companies should be prohibited from making contributions 1027

CONGRESS (GOVT., PARTY) (*continued*)
peasants are made into sheep without shepherds in rural parts by depriving them of rural leadership 1034
permit-licence-ridden administration must be replaced 751
pledged to regimentation ; people should therefore dismiss it 810
policy of over-government under Mr. Nehru's leadership which gives the party a powerful instrument for perpetuating itself in office 1034
presents an election budget, consideration for the rich (tempting them with " stable " government) and none for the consumer 520-2
real cause of quarrels within the ruling party , rivalry in exercise of power 661
seeks nation-wide mandate in 1962 for collectivism 794
seeking power without wisdom 262-5
seeks to put down by law communal groups opposed to it, while exploiting communalism to its own advantage 833-5
Select Committee's report on company donations to party funds 594
stands for a poisonous mixture of private monopolies and growing Statism 886
stifling economic enterprise ; command economy on communist model ; too much mechanization ; misleading statistics ; centralization in fact concealed by lip-service to decentralization 474-80
substance of freedom not realized ; citizens' freedom at lowest ebb 577-9

CONGRESS (GOVT., PARTY) (*continued*)

subterfuges under which casteism flourishes in the States; policy against English has hamstrung national unity; Planning follies 866-9

talk of co-operation is made abracadabra; tempting the rural electorate with money loans 764

Third Plan which embodies by implication the permit-licence-quota system is the negation of equal opportunity to every citizen which its manifesto professes to offer 1042

Tyagi condemns donations by companies to party funds; such donations must be subject to tax; placing a ceiling on these donations would be like permitting moderate bribery 689-690

tries to overwhelm people by its strength using money to nullify parliamentary democracy 665, 689, 893, 909

verbosity at Bhavnagar (Congress) session; leaders concerned about "indiscipline" in the ranks which is really the result of party members' ambition to share power 737

victory in Orissa brought about by questionable means; ambiguity between Government and party in electioneering 888-90

what the Congress rulers *do* is more to the point than speaking about the fine ideals imbedded in the Constitution 874

why it is necessary to defeat the Congress at the next election 754, 774

CONGRESS (GOVT., PARTY) (*continued*)
witch-hunting campaign against ex-princes and smear tactics against Swatantra Party; Congress itself guilty of neo-feudalism in its control over industrialists, merchants, etc. 770-2

CONGRESS AND COMMUNISM, by following communist policies of expropriation, Congress will become communist 855
deceptions and violations of freedom in the Third Plan identical to those of the communists 964
policies serving as chariot-horses of communism; businessmen must see the writing on the wall 899
single party rule for all time, every year of office augmenting the party's irremovability—will be a replica of Soviet conditions 1020
tribal conflict between the two; no differences in objectives 662, 718, 851
vie with each other in seeking destruction of property 540

CONSERVATISM, definition of 261

CONSERVATIVE PARTY, need stressed 259

CONSTITUTION (THE), cardinal principles of the religions embodied herein are violated in practice 873-4
pre-eminently the minority's charter 588
Congress Government has laid violent hands on the Constitution with a series of amendments taking away guaranteed rights and tending towards State-favoured monopolies and the socialistic pattern 811-3

CONSTITUTION (*continued*)
Swatantra Party stands for full restoration of freedoms granted in the 1950 Constitution 784

CO-OPERATION, grouping together of same interests is mere collectivization and not co-operation 763
Reserve Bank Governor's warning on need to increase agricultural production; failure of collectivization 858-9
of no use in food production without mechanization; Union Food Minister on danger of adopting Western methods of mechanization 906-7

CUBA, plight of people exposes limits of non-intervention in domestic affairs 822

CULTURE, emphasis on self-restraint 450, 454
Indian, a mixture of conformity and tolerance 451

DALAI LAMA, exile, India's stand 329
must be more a spiritual head than Tibetan leader 330
not a prisoner in India, allegation mere slander 336

DARWIN, CHARLES, theory of evolution new to orthodox Christianity but implicit in ancient Indian thinking 941-2

DECIMAL COINAGE, simple alternative (to official decision) suggested 51

DEFENCE OF INDIA, Auditor-General on bungling by Defence Department 806
"martial moves": press despatch of British correspondent 447

DEFENCE OF INDIA *(continued)*
Minister on Russian attitude on Sino-Indian dispute, need for strengthening Defence Department 805
necessity for joint defence with Pakistan 864-5
Tholal's analysis 705

DEMOCRACY, absence of strong Opposition in India and responsibility of the Congress 58
a Council of State to represent regional interests is called for 74
autonomy of the States; non-Congress parties' role 104-7
centrifugal pull in Indian national life and culture helps in realizing a federated union 61
efficient administrative machinery needed 75
freedom of action within Swatantra Party; Mr Masani's reply to Mr. Morarji Desai 835
liberty and equality not realizable together in the absolute sense 247
loses all meaning if the same group can perpetuate itself in power for all time 903
maximum freedom within every party desirable 817
must be saved not only in Kerala; socialist way leads to one-party rule, citizen being enslaved in his economic life 490-2
need for quality in leadership 175
policy of committing the nation to long-term expenditure and liabilities will extinguish the people's

DEMOCRACY (*continued*)
right to decide their affairs from time to time 955
political parties opposing, watching and criticizing one another, necessary for good government 816
present climate of greed 200-2
proper polarization of parties essential for parliamentary democracy 894-5
real two-party system needed as in Britain; 'Progress' to be balanced by the spirit of conservation 717
requires care and vigilance 863
there is much to be said for indirect elections with power and responsibility in all the tiers 956
two parties must oppose each other on issue of maximum freedom vs. minimum government 489
views on party-less government 909
wanted a strong articulate Right 72

DEMOCRACY IN ASIA, hope lies in the revival of Religion 982
if no good government issues out of it, its fate is sealed; it will be replaced by army-backed dictatorship 979-80
need for courage and good conduct in the civil population; voice of Conscience should be listened to 980-1
writer's apprehensions about its future 978-82

DENNISON, S. on the virtues of competition in industry in post-war Western Europe 773

DESAI, MORARJI, equating Congress socialism with Gandhiji's 462

DESAI (*continued*)
jibes at Swatantra Party are jibes at *swatantra* itself 836
misled by percentage approach to incidence of taxation in India 851-2

DHEBAR, reply to critics of Congress not convincing 599-600

DISARMAMENT, agreement must precede control discussions ; need for great moral gesture like unilateral renunciation of arms ; British Labour raises hopes 653-5
West must accept Russia's invitation and challenge 623
Russian and American differences on priorities 681-4

D M.K., advice by Congress Minister should be regarded as "the enemy's preaching" 921-2
and D K., must shake off their communal origin and realize that the present issue is whether the (all-India) ruling party is to be opposed or not 827

ECONOMY (INDIAN), columnist's warning against "coagulated thinking" 807
etiology of controls 831-2
free economy or regimentation ? 810
inflation and excessive State interference —the two evils 631

EDUCATION, teaching of religion will correct materialistic outlook ; not eclecticism but study by each student of his own religion 648-9

EISENHOWER, DWIGHT, his 'doctrine', results—increased tempo of cold war, etc. 39, 40
his mission of peace, importance of meeting with Mr. Khrushchov 526, 541
warns against inflation in U.S. 670

ELECTIONS (INDIAN), choice of local M L A. important 42
electoral laws abused by the party in power 862-3
need for care-taker government before elections are held 579-80
reducing expensiveness, by a change in election mechanics 44
reform needed, ballot-box must be carried to the voter on the model of census procedure 789, 959
selection of Congress candidates 59
voters' responsibility; character the main issue 41

ELECTIONS (INDIRECT), may succeed in India after long travail 956

ELECTION SYMBOLS, basis for award; Swatantra Party's credentials 747

ENGLISH, extensive circulation of (English) newspapers in India 371
need for good text-books 199
sheer folly to displace it 192
the thing that binds the people of India 170
vital instrument of unity in modern India 867, 884, 912

FASCISM, Indian counterpart (of European Fascism); freedom threatened from the Left 391-2

FISHERMEN IN MADRAS, their plight; cruel to drive their families from their natural homes on the sea-shore; Madras belongs to them 852-4

FOOD, failure of State trading; A. P. Jain's gesture 403
farm and family must be saved 344
grow more votes vs. grow more food 113
increase in production possible by reducing military expenditure 194
"legislative agriculture" must be given up 232
President Prasad's warning to Prime Minister 378
State and agriculture; folly of bureaucratic interference 342

FRANCE, the new dictatorship—influence on Pakistan 161

GALBRAITH, (U.S. AMBASSADOR IN INDIA), adverse views on borrowing from abroad 947
lays emphasis on 'invisible' targets in production 950

GANDHI (JI), a deeply religious person in the traditional Indian sense 847
advice to the Congress in his last days rejected 768
against welfare by coercion 265, 270
anniversary: a time for self-examination by those in authority 297
answer to Marxism 300
Congress retreat from Gandhism 277-8
demonstrated the duty of honouring commitments at any cost 881

GANDHI (JI) (*continued*)

did not believe in making a fetish of non-violence 646

doctrine of trusteeship 150, 265, 268, 321, 340, 341, 463, 493

his memory can best be honoured by a re-dedication to Truth and non-violence 642

his pattern of economic and political life is reiterated by the Swatantra Party 781

My Socialism, a timely publication; trusteeship, *Ahimsa* and *dharma* 432-4

offer to Mr. Jinnah—a lost opportunity 274-5

Rajghat symbolises not power but *Dharma* 766

trusteeship doctrine must be revived as emergent national imperative 495

unilateral effort for peace; agreement with the writer 255

views on true security 146

wanted "no kind of activity divorced from faith in God" 649

GAYATRI DEVI, MAHARANI, brave act of joining the Swatantra Party 755

GERMANY, a striking success in free economy 721

GITA (BHAGAVAD), THE, central teaching, relating meditation and knowledge to action 111

Chapters 7, 9 and 15 contain the Hindu interpretation of the riddle of the universe 100-2

doctrine of work as worship must be revived 555

God "the Organizer and Conductor of the game of nature" 939

GITA (BHAGAVAD) (*continued*)
tells how to free our souls from evil by self-control, enlightened thought and action" 944
the most handy and comprehensive source book of Hindu doctrine and ethics 108
two strands of its message: (1) the teaching part: to wean people away from *sanyasa* to activity without attachment (2) the message of an incarnation of the all-merciful God and revival of the personal Deity 374-8

GOETHE, opposition to intolerance 453

GOVERNMENT, gap between it and the people 383
its legislative field of work well marked 323

GOVERNMENT LOANS, poor response of the money market due to genuine savings being made impossible 983

GUIDED MISSILES, Mr Nehru's proud announcement in Upper House of Defence scientists' successful experiment 992

HAMMARSKJOELD, DAG, plea for a first class United Nations civil service 872

HANDLOOM INDUSTRY, government should reserve *dhoties* and *sarees* against competition by mills 731-2
Swatantra Party pledged to support the the weavers 952

HARIJANS, government concessions only perpetuate caste feelings among converts 645

HUMAN RIGHTS, are on a higher level than laws made by legislatures 783
undoing by the Congress Party 749

HINDI, fantastic statistics about South India 208
may be language of a State but not the Union language 124
no change in writer's views held in 1937 3
not the best available medium 211-5
proletarian jargon examined 131
strange words from official mint 155
suffers by comparison with English 137
why communists prefer it to English 128

HINDUISM, attitude towards the riddle of the universe, the code of nature is the manifestation of the Supreme Will; so perfect is God's rule that He disappears from the scene, but is ever present in the Law itself 100-2, 939-40
holds that God is beyond the idea of number even as He is beyond the idea of size; no need, therefore, to be apologetic about its polytheism 37-8
of all the important religions, it is one that specifically includes in its tenets the faith that 'all ways lead to God' 97-8
its doctrine of *karma*, viz., every act has at once an effect on oneself apart from those on others, is not fatalism but law 436

HINDUISM (*continued*)
is not in conflict with the Darwinian theory of evolution 941
the scientific 'method of difference' is applied by Hindu tradition psychologically 452

HINDU LAW, amendment about intestate succession doubles existing evil 482

HITLER, Congress's witch-hunt against ex-princes is but counterpart of Hitlerian madness 770

HUXLEY (THOMAS HENRY), materialism is "shorthand idealism" 726

IENGAR, H. V. R., in subsistence economy co-operative effort cannot succeed 858
warning against political intrusion in co-operation 777

INDEPENDENCE DAY, a time for self-examination 578
some reflections; gap between people and government 381-3

INDUSTRIALIZATON, too fast speeding up (within a particular stewardship) inevitably leads to soaring prices and soaring taxes 982

INFLATION, evil effects; scope and limit of price control measures 625-31
fall in rupee value to one-fifth 670, 729
must lead to disaster 792
result of deliberate government policy 729

INTEGRATION OF INDIA, an old, old problem; not a new one; a simple solution 914

INTEGRATION OF INDIA (*continued*)
competition for 'soft jobs'—cause of disintegration 931
impossible as long as language islands exist 966

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, *See* NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL

JEFFERSON (THOMAS), prophetic warning against concentration of power for long in the same hands 777, 782

JUSTICE, two differing pictures of the judicial system in communist countries 970

KAMARAJ, K., his open alliance with E.V.R. Periar 834

KASHMIR, American attitude 48-50
motives behind British resolution in U.N. Security Council 45

KENNEDY, JOHN, "human rights come not from the generosity of the State but from the hand of God"—in his inaugural address; lesson for India 748-9

KERALA, electoral lesson for every party 360
kettle calls the pot black, Congress Party and funds 521
Pradesh Congress circumvents Durgapur resolution 880
Satyagraha against Government; congressmen ignore Gandhiji's conditions 347
"save democracy in Kerala"; United Front slogan examined 490

KHASA SUBBA RAU, loss to journalism of one of its bravest and best veterans 882

KHASA SUBBA RAU (*continued*)
- symbol for fearlessness and justice for all; "writes with God in his heart" 359
- talent for criticism—a public asset 2

KRISHNASWAMI, DR. A., plea for honest language policy 407

KHRUSHCHOV, has not the courage for unilateral action 624
- his 'advantages' as dictator 1031
- perhaps the shrewdest among world's political leaders 623
- undoes all past good work at Paris 543

KURAL, THE, duties of a farmer cannot be delegated 102
- exposition of (Gandhian) doctrine of trusteeship 352-4
- guidance on foreign policy; how to deal with two enemies 488
- teaching that *dharma* and statecraft could not be separated 576

LAND (REFORM), aping of Chinese methods 282
- basic contradictions in Congress policies which will lead to collectivization and agricultural chaos 547-9
- ceilings on all incomes; some fallacious arguments 314
- Ceilings Bills repugnant to letter and spirit of the Constitution 513, 538
- ceilings proposals "a national folly" 745
- compensation for land acquired should be true compensation 592
- co-operation and growth of new bureaucracy 103

LAND (REFORM) (*continued*)

co-operative cultivation; patent medicine and slogan 327

distributing non-existent income to all landless 421

evil of societarian reformation 166

expropriation and tyrannical use of power 284

expropriation obviously an impossible policy in the absence of enough land to go round; offends public morals 494

food scarcity and addition to national debt, the only possible results 532

irrational policy pursued by the Congress; land ceilings will bring down food production and aggravate the landowner's misery; seeks to favour only the tenants because of their vote-potential 733-4

landholdings—size does not matter; increase in economic holdings must be the object 245

landless will not really benefit 287-9

Lenin's confession; use of force will not help 356-7

Madras Bill not in conformity with even amended Constitution; President should refer matter to Supreme Court 527-8

no justification for arbitrariness or robbing of temples and religious institutions and charitable trusts 529-30

questions to the Prime Minister 323-5

LANGUAGE, (OFFICIAL), a lesson from Ireland 156

bilingualism is a trap; English should continue as official language as

LANGUAGE, (OFFICIAL) (*continued*)
neutral protector of all the 15 languages of India 601-2
common Devanagari script plan is certain to rouse hostility 972
English is the inevitable solution for effective integration of India ; an essential element in the unity we have forged ; not safe to kick off the ladder 977-8
English should be official language ; best medium for inter-State purposes 84
Home Minister Pant's speech destroys good impression made by the Prime Minister 406
imposition of Hindi not a 'petty issue' ; Home Minister's statement analysed ; solution for official language should be found on non-party basis 570-1
lesson of history, imposition of Hindi will place large groups of people at a disadvantage 89
Madras Government should seek deletion of Chapter XVII of the Constitution 124
medium of instruction, claims of mother-tongue 80-3
official language is the concern not only of the majority but of everyone in the Union, and Hindi-speaking people are not even a majority ; dominant position of English in newspaper circulation 588-92
official' vs. 'national' 3-4
Prime Minister's assurance on official language—the *Magna Carta* of the non-Hindi people 591

LANGUAGE (OFFICIAL) (*continued*)

Prime Minister's assurance should be incorporated in President's order 581-2

States should be consulted 90

the lesson of Assam; English should continue at inter-State and Central levels 878

LAW, is not whatever is enacted by a majority but something that rests on permanent principles and is inherent in the conscience of a community 508

LEGISLATURE, ministers' work as ministers not protected by privilege; differing functions of legislatures and courts 620

need for a council of trades, industries and professions to set off the evils of universal adult suffrage and majority rule 769

privileges of legislators, motion of breach of; Mr. C. Subramaniam's statement in Madras Assembly welcomed; should be resorted to only rarely 1016

LINGUISTIC STATES, if an enquiry is held to probe into the evil results of the linguistic reorganization of States, it would be a valid reason for Master Tara Singh to break his fast 975

linguistic autonomy is itself an *avatar* of communalism; we *can* and *must* undo the reorganized linguistic States 911-2

mishandling of the problem by the Congress Party is a further cause of disintegration 1002

LINGUISTIC STATES (*continued*)
reorganization of States on linguistic basis is treated as 'a charter for oppression' of the language minorities 896

LIPPMANN, WALTER, warning against using fire against fire 855

LITERATURE, test of good writing 197

LOANS, FOREIGN, assertion by Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari of India's ability to repay is dogmatic 869
Galbraith says that "borrowing is no substitute for earning by exports" 947
India Government has now borrowed nearly Rs. 4,000 crores; the notion that the country should be industrialized in order to be self-sufficient at whatever cost is meaningless when the world is more and more becoming one and inter-dependent 989
no answer to question of finding money for repayment 743
our foreign liabilities belie the need to borrow 820-1
repayment plans by exports are mere castles in the air; the common man has to bear the burden 946

MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, significance of people's homage 779

MANUAL LABOUR, Chinese build huge dam —BBC report 311
duty to work; labourer is worthy of his wage; some short-comings of honorary work 316-7

MANUAL LABOUR (*continued*)
non-working *neo*-Brahmin caste developing to the detriment of the nation 923
prevailing distaste for 272-4

MEHTA, ASHOKA, on Congress election expenditure in Orissa 889-90

MIDDLE EAST, Arab nationalism 177
Eisenhower 'doctrine'; increased tempo of cold war, etc. 39-40
Lebanon adventure; intention to liquidate alleged 'subversive activities' of other Arab nations 178-81
recognition of new Iraqi Government 182
West's attitude 38

MIKOYAN, A., admits disparities in income in Russia 476

MILL, JOHN STUART, how good government can be achieved in India 639
plea for proportional representation 958

MINISTERS' SALARIES, no meaning in window-dressed austerities 68

MUNRO, SIR THOMAS, an exceptionally good Englishman who came to India; initiator of the peasant-wise settlement of land in India 993-4

NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL, admiration of Soviet Planning 476-7
appeal to the services is apposite also to the Congress Party and ministers 913-4
attitude towards America's Cuban policy is in line with the communists 830

NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL (*continued*)

"cannot be satisfied with anything that is not big"—Gandhiji 989

claim that socialism is without compulsion 464

Chinese aggression is paradoxically a windfall 536

conduct as leader of the Congress Party in collecting election funds 1012

contradictions in foreign policy pointed out 799

criticism of public conduct; writer's attitude to the Prime Minister 290-1

criticism of Swatantra Party at A.I.C C. 424-8

criticism of Swatantra Party examined 473-4

dislike of private sector 361

dissent from party members meets with his disapproval 265

guiding principle : to be in accord with popular feeling 533

helpless instrument of disintegration of Hyderabad 614

historical status and popularity fully exploited by the ruling party 685

in dangerous state of loneliness owing to unqualified (public) adulation 1

ingenuous act of allowing Russians to teach Indian pilots in Himalayan border defence criticised 804-5

justification of State controls by the argument of extremes 795

must rid himself of fear of religion 350

pursuit of spectacular aims in Planning 493

should drop ambition to see things accomplished 'in our own time' 292

NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL (*continued*)
youth's dilemma, loyalty to Nehru's past vs. approval of totalitarian ideology 531
NEPAL, breakdown of democracy; indirect consequence of India's non-alignment (foreign) policy 704, 709

NON-ALIGNMENT, effect of China's aggression 447
need for positive union of non-aligned nations 460-1
need for revision of India's policy 469
not mere two-fold satellitism 461
ONAGOW (Organization of Non-Aligned Governments of the World) 460-1
should not degenerate into 'peace at any price' 468
U.S. and Britain adopt non-alignment policy 470
has become meaningless superstition after Chinese aggression and Russia's failure to prevent it 707

NUCLEAR ARMS, break-up in Paris Summit meeting; U.N's responsibility 545
dangers involved in conflict with Formosa 332-3
Geneva negotiations and U.N. responsibility 552
Russian proposals must be accepted 559
Russian scheme offers good start 546
spy plane incident is an incentive to disarmament 542
total disarmament is world's need 526
unilateral renunciation, the only way to peace and survival 624, 654, 676, 951
U.S. vested interest in continuing the armament race 656
vested interests promoting discord 558

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, Khrushchov declares readiness to sign a treaty on disarmament but U.S. fears it would leave an imbalance of power 715

NUCLEAR POWER STATION, gigantic expenditure which the country (India) can ill afford 917

NUCLEAR TESTS, call to uninvolved nations 366-7
Chester Bowles on 552
contention that test explosions in 'outer space' are not harmful refuted; the issue is a moral one; uninvolved India has lost moral power to influence either bloc because of her loan obligations 999-1000
German scientists' declaration 345
physiological effects; non-political scientists' testimony 339
prospects of ending 256-8
resumption of nuclear test explosions by Russia condemned; Khrushchov does not heed appeal resolution of U.N. sponsored by India; Russia's defence can carry no conviction to non-aligned peoples of the world 1037
wholly illegitimate attack on health of present and future generations 351

OPPOSITION, for proper working of parliamentary system of government, a real and strong Opposition party is indispensable 568
(SEE also under DEMOCRACY)

ORISSA, elections disclose *asuric* strength of the Congress 909
Patnaik's reply to charges makes strange reading 916

ORISSA (*continued*)
truth about the Congress victory in elections 888-9

PAKISTAN, Ayub Khan's threats 231
Chinese hostility demands rethinking on India's relations with Pakistan 487
folly of India's arms race with Pakistan 95
genesis of American military aid 92
genesis of—; defence of partition for freedom 276
India and Pakistan face common dangers 484
influence of French insurrection 161
lesson for India 229
new portent of army rule 221-3
offer of joint defence with India should be accepted 471-2
shows India the way to progress by removing State controls 761

PARKER, DOROTHY, bitter analysis of American social life 196-7

PARKINSON's Second Law applicable to our (India's) economy 698-701
The law and the profits 792

PARTITION OF INDIA, why it was agreed to 276

PATNAIK, the Chief Secretary of Orissa should throw light on Mr. Patnaik's interests in government contracts 892
strange defence to charges 916

PHILOSOPHY, typical Indian concepts; acceptance of the deity; positive tolerance; trusteeship, reverential polytheism, and work as worship 436-8

PINAY, M, miracle worker in French economy 496-7

PLAN, THIRD (FIVE-YEAR), effective power of Parliament and people will be curtailed; uncertain elements of Defence and foreign policy; consequences of taxation policy 562-3

errors in calculations in regard to savings, outlay, cost of imported machinery, and effects of fresh taxation, etc. 574-5

it begins with the lowest level of foreign exchange reserves and a dangerously high level of prices 983

Masani's exposure of some follies; static assumptions are wrong 602

tremendously inflationary; deficit financing inherent in the Plan will involve 'runaway inflation' 630

PLANNING PROGRAMME, gives the Congress Party long-term mortgage over the will of the voters 640

first fruits of our planned economy; indirect taxes, rise in prices, and suffering of the poor 796

Nanda's admission on the annual increase in prices due to indirect taxation during the last ten years 984

no longer a means to an end but an end in itself 750

no real planning about repayment of foreign loans 743

sequel is total rise of 30 per cent in wholesale prices during Second Plan period 983

World Bank's plea for greater scope for private sector and for removal of certain controls 617

POLITICS, evils of whole-time politics 439
and personal friendship 147-8

POPULATION PROBLEM, folly of use of contraceptives; killing future generations in advance 435

PRAKASAM, T., a tribute 55-6

PRESS IN INDIA, need for gadfly weekly-journals; daily papers have almost lost habit of adverse criticism 1-2
English vindicated 371

PRICE CONTROL, Congress Parliamentary Committee's comment on rise in prices during the Second Plan period 814
new levies mean rise in prices 785
official fiat will lead to rationing and the black market 593

PROFIT, if profit be abolished through excessive taxation, essential production will suffer and with it national welfare 650

PROPERTY, a great human institution like Religion 549-50

PUBLIC CONDUCT, writer's criticism of the Prime Minister explained 290-1

PUBLIC SECTOR, decentralization will not help efficiency in public enterprises; inefficiency is due to absence of personal interest 918

PUBLIC SERVICE, Adams (John Quincy) on 118-9

PUNJAB, executive's interference with the judiciary 572

PUNJABI SUBA, ban on Punjabi Suba news 966

claim for it is no worse and no better than the claim for Maharashtra or Andhra 669-70

if every Punjabi-speaking constituency votes against the Congress in the general elections, the suba will become a fact 905

repression; arrest of Swatantra Party leader 976

Sikhs should not be marked out for discrimination 730

RAMAN, SIR C. V., views conquest of space as "militarism run mad" 828

RAMA RAO, NAVARATNA, a saga of friendship with the writer 703

RAMAYANA (THE), Sita points the significance of *avatar* to Rama 185

RANGA, ACHARYA, N. G., self-employment and *Swatantra* 440

REDDY, SANJIVA N., opinion on Swatantra Party prospects 537

RELIGION, atheism responsible for general distrust of communist Powers 551, 558

attempt to create welfare State without religion doomed to failure 550

basis of civil society and the source of all good and of all comfort 847

Christians in Russia; an eye-opener to Indian materialists 294-5

fealty to its teachings is the way to establish peace on earth; never before have teachings of men of God been so relevant as in this atomic age 715-6

RELIGION (*continued*)

governments must support 398

Indian concept nearer to American than to European 66-7

Indian elite will not give up religion; both an individual issue and a national question; internal regulator of conduct; most effective instrument of character; more necessary as science advances 454-6

Indian worship of God in various forms 452

man cannot give up Religion as long as we all agree that self-control is essential for happiness 398

man needs God 76-7

man's attitude towards the mystery that hides behind the phenomenal world is what is called Religion; the discoveries of science are no answers to the call of religion 943

myths indispensable; views of G. B. Shaw and Prof. Toynbee 458-9

not an opiate but a true pillar of energy, man cannot dispense with God 117

science is a preparation for religion 937

some fallacies about Religion in the abstract; idol worship, etc., examined 95-9

spiritual force must replace physical compulsions 555

use of science falls within the bounds of religion 399

victories of science are victories of religion 727

REPRESENTATION, PROPORTIONAL, See MILL, JOHN STUART

RUSSELL, BERTRAND, quick nuclear ban treaty possible 552-3

SCIENCE : the codes of science are just classified observations ; they do not *explain* 939
the loneliness and aridity of science make men seek a personal religion 110
the quest for Truth in the phenomenal world 641
will help us only if we keep God in our hearts 77
(See also under RELIGION)

SECULARISM, Indian concept nearer to American than to European 66-7
its limitations 142

SECURITY, unilateral disarmament vital 226
U.S. doctrine's weakness 145-6
U.S. quest for security ; genuine cleavage in Soviet policy 414-5

SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD, myths indispensable in religion 458

SLUMS, a concomitant of machine civilization 164
in Madras city, State should provide the dwellers suitable housing as they render essential service to the city population 606

SOCIALISM, a fundamental error ; static notion of happiness 503
an out-dated theory of governance and prosperity ; Nehru sticks to his bias in spite of the experience of the world 1036

SOCIALISM (*continued*)
democratic socialism, a contradiction in terms; socialism means end of individual freedom and democracy 501
has lost ground in Britain 317, 430, 498
in deep eclipse in Europe 522-3
means nothing without State compulsion 464-5
must end in complete regulation of life 188

SOCIALISM AND STATISM, rethinking in England and Germany; France's example to India, allure of socialist promises to illiterate adult voters 497-9

STATISM, a killing frost 765
duty of freedom-loving citizen to fight it 561, 587
drawbacks of State-controlled economy 564
facts reveal extravagance, wastage and inefficiency in contrast to private sector 671-2
no parallel in our past history for the kind of present State control 791

SOCIALISM *vs.* TRUSTEESHIP, where America leads 307-8

SOCIAL WELFARE, Congress and coercion, mockery made of Article 31 268

SOCRATES, on the State; need for critics 1

STATE AND THE CITIZEN, synthesis of two opposing principles of general welfare required 489
(See also under SOCIALISM)

SUEZ, attitude of Canada 33
British objective 36

SUEZ (*continued*)
- Dulles's brinkmanship 7
- Suez and Panama—U.S. attitude 10
- the Commonwealth attitude 25

SUMMIT CONFERENCE, way out from Paris 542
- *New York Times's* correspondence and editorial 553-4

SWATANTRA PARTY, answer to charge of feudalism against it 770-2
- benefits of free economy, lesson of German recovery 440
- calling names no answer to Swatantra 472
- chief objectives outlined 383-90, 509-12
- content explained by Acharya Ranga, self-employment 440
- continuous vigilance necessary against Congress attempts to undermine constitutional rights 502, 504-5, 507
- critics' trick of exaggerating and distorting objectives; party's opposition to totalitarianism of the Congress 393
- freedom of opinion within the party 481, 518
- gives a lead to other parties in allowing maximum freedom to members 819, 836
- has broken the malignant spell cast by the ruling party on the people 569
- has displaced communists as main target of ruling party's attack 509
- Indian politics should be polarized between the Congress and Swatantra parties and all minor variations absorbed on either side 857
- its emergence has affected the Congress as could be seen by the tenor of its election manifesto 1007-8

SWATANTRA PARTY (*continued*)

its national duty to resist and fight the Congress (which is going the totalitarian way) without thought of success or defeat—even as Britain and Russia fought Hitler 1018

lack of field workers 537

'negative' and 'positive' are misleading labels ; charge against the party of being 'negative' answered 611-2

not a rich man's party 596

objectives and methods—a real Opposition to Congress Party 368-9

objection to socialist deception 464-6

opposes the near-communist regimentation policy of the Congress Party 1042

opposes the socalled socialist policies of the Congress Party and stands for the Indian way of life, attaching importance to *Dharma* as to material prosperity 1043

opposes totalitarian strangle-hold ; stands for full restoration of freedoms guaranteed in the 1950 Constitution 784

people should vote for the party in the coming elections if they disapproved Congress policies, such as the confiscation of honestly acquired property and hated injustice 1028

philosophy of individual freedom 380

philosophy of social welfare and harmony as opposed to socialist class-warfare 525

pledged to help the handloom weavers 952

positive content of what " Freedom " denotes 381

SWATANTRA PARTY (*continued*)
principles same as those of British Liberals 501
Prime Minister's allergy 361-2
real differences with the Congress Party —inner law of *dharma* vs. outer compulsion 486
reiterates Gandhian pattern of economic and political life 781
reply to Prime Minister's charges 423-8
stands for prosperity through free economy 886
stands for the sacredness as well as the secular importance of individual freedom and enterprise and the great harm that regimentation would cause to real progress 1041
the very name indicates its ideology—freedom in the truest sense 600
this new party may save Indian democracy 474
wanton attribution of motives by critics 409-10
widespread public response to party's call 412-3
will give agriculture first priority, placing it on a sound basis 1046
will halt taxation which is becoming regressive, making life for the middle and poorer classes unbearable 1045
will improve election procedure, so as to secure a fair chance for the real views of the electorate to prevail 1047
will restore religion to its legitimate influence on life 1044

SCRIPT AND UNITY, Congress plan (Devanagari) impracticable and provocative 972-4

SHASTRI, LAL BAHADUR, language formula for Assam 878

STERILITY, adoption of children far superior to children born through artificial insemination or test-tube-fertilization 877

STATE TRADING, wanted a President's Commission of enquiry to probe into its working 632-3

STRIKE, (the right to), in administrative and defence establishments, strikes and lock-outs are wrong; political parties should not exploit the situation when government servants are on strike 565-7

TAGORE, RABINDRANATH, integration of art and wisdom 536

TARA SINGH, MASTER, has only adopted a formula which the Union Government has made respectable by regrouping the States 670

would do well to undertake a limited purificatory fast 905

TAMILS, will never accept Devanagari script; imposition likely to be the greatest cause of disintegration 973

TAXATION, all taxes are ultimately paid by the consumer; even direct taxes working themselves into cost of production, enter into the price of articles sold 997

and military expenditure 79

taxing charities, wholly misconceived and calculated to dry up natural springs of charity; clauses of the Bill wholly in con-

TAXATION (*continued*)
flict with Gandhiji's doctrine of trusteeship 986

TAXES IN ENGLAND, Prof. Parkinson's plea for reducing public expenditure and limiting taxation to 20 per cent of national income; allowable measure of taxation must be less in India 983

TIBET, India's reluctance to participate in U.N. debate is bad politics 442

TOLSTOI, parable of the "Thistle"; Tippu and Katta Bommu 144
stories lead to elevation of the spirit 197

TOYNBEE, on religious myths 458

TRUMAN, HARRY, unrepentant about dropping of atom bombs on Japan 334

TRADE UNIONS, scope and functions under socialism 250-2

TUGHLAK, lesson from his life 51

UNITED NATIONS, aims are peace and peaceful co-existence 646
extreme action will defeat its aim of keeping the warring blocs together 647
majority voting strength of small States should be used with circumspection 666
much more could be achieved by friendly contacts than by voting strength 667
power of veto in the Security Council is a mechanism to prevent Big Powers withdrawing from the organization, leading to catastrophe 647

United Nations (*continued*)
responsibility for world peace 546-7, 554
should take care of people emancipated from colonialism 872

Upanishads, throw light on the origin of things : prove that God is not negatived by the brilliant scientific discoveries 940-3

U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., some common features 320

Vedaratnam, Sardar, death of the last Gandhian in the Madras Congress —a 'rare spirit' 987

WEAVERS, Handloom, their plaint ; not a negligible community ; first victims during hard times 135-6
way out of their misery ; mere co-operatives will not do ; market for *dhotis* and *saris* should be reserved ; co-operatives not a substitute for assured market 279-80

World Bank, urges greater scope being given to private sector in India 617-8

world government, can come one day, but long after Peace and Goodwill are secured by dispelling fear and suspicion through unilateral love effort 255-6

Yoga, is not just physical tricks but the effort to purify our character 944
synthesis of the ways of *dhyaana*, *jnaana* and *Bhakti* 111